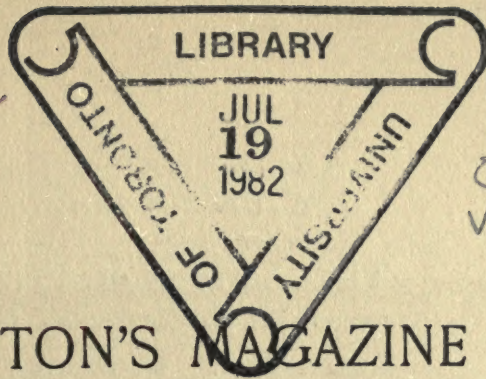


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JACOB GOULD SCHURMAN, LL.D.



GUNTON'S MAGAZINE

REVIEW OF THE MONTH

In Memory of Washington

On the 14th of December, just one hundred years after his death, impressive Masonic services were held at Mount Vernon in memory of George Washington. Seldom if ever has this anniversary been more significant and suggestive. A century ago the four or five million people of this country were starting on a national career. To-day, at the centennial anniversary of Washington's death, the nation itself is in a sense entering upon a larger world career. This will be true whether or not we retain possession of the Philippine Islands, or whether we govern our other island acquisitions as colonies or as inherent parts of the republic. The movement of the nations to-day is tending toward a great collision between the Teutonic and Slavic civilizations in the Orient. Our interests, commercial more than political, are reaching into that quarter of the globe, and we can hardly avoid, if we would, having a large share in the influences that are to shape world destinies there in the next few decades. Success in that great contest, and our own continuous progress, will depend greatly upon whether our part in it is one of high-minded cooperation for the advance of civilization, or mere booty-hunting "entangling alliances" with foreign nations, against which Washington warned the young republic.

The
President's
Message

The character of President McKinley's message to congress is an index to this new trend. Problems of foreign possessions, some near us and some far away, are unfamiliar subjects in our presidential messages. This time they occupy a large part of the document. Of course the president declares, and rightly, that our one duty in the Philippines now is to suppress the rebellion, regardless of future policy. The question of future disposition of the archipelago he leaves entirely to congress, practically without recommendations, as has been his custom with respect to nearly all important and disputed questions of public policy. The building of the Nicaragua canal and laying of a Pacific cable are urged, and also the appointment of a commission to study commercial and industrial interests in China. Territorial government for Porto Rico is recommended, and free trade between that island and this country is urged as "our plain duty." Upon this we have commented elsewhere, as also on Mr. McKinley's remarks concerning large corporations, miscalled "trusts." Liberalization of our national banking laws, and additional powers to the executive for the purpose of securing the gold standard, are strongly advised, likewise a measure to stop the danger to the treasury involved in the system of endless-chain manipulation of the greenbacks.

Foreign comment on the message was almost universally favorable; especially in Germany, because of the extremely cordial sentiments expressed toward that country.

The
National
Treasury

The condition of the treasury as shown in the message is more favorable than for many years past, in spite of the extraordinary drains of the last two years. True, the national debt has been increased during this period by

nearly \$200,000,000, but the available cash balance on December 1st was \$278,004,837.72, of which nearly \$240,000,000 was in gold coin and bullion. The estimated expenditures for the fiscal year 1901, for which the present session of congress must make the appropriations, amount (exclusive of postal expenditures) to about \$578,000,000; this enormous sum, however, includes all the requests for appropriations from all the departments, some of which are invariably reduced by congress. For the fiscal year ending June 31st last there was a deficit of nearly \$90,000,000, but for the current year a surplus of \$48,000,000 is expected. Customs and internal revenue receipts at present are coming in at the rate of almost \$48,000,000 per month—those from internal revenue alone amounting to about \$25,000,000 monthly. This means a purely domestic taxation of fully \$4.00 per capita. Remembering this, we shall not hug the belief that expansion costs nothing simply because the treasury shows a cash balance.

**War
and Navy
Reports**

Secretary Root's report to the president concerning the war department is an able document, with a refreshingly independent and progressive spirit. He is the first secretary of war in many years who has been able to muster up courage to attack the antiquated system of organization under which our little standing army of 25,000 men was so long administered, and propose radical reorganization on the lines of the best modern practice. His recommendations include a new classification of executive functions, a more efficient system for organization of volunteers, a distinct head for the artillery service, regular mobilization and evolutions, with naval cooperation, radical modification of the promotion-by-seniority system, and selection of staff officers for ability instead of "social or political influence."

Secretary Long's report for the navy is naturally of a different sort, because there are not such grave defects in that department to be remedied. The feature of the naval report is the urgent request for heavy appropriations for new naval equipment, including three armored cruisers of 13,000 tons displacement, to cost about \$4,500,000 each, three protected cruisers of 8,000 tons, costing \$3,000,000 each, and twelve gunboats of 900 tons, to cost an aggregate of about \$3,000,000. The total tonnage of warships now under construction is 123,236, which by the way is less than one-fourth the tonnage of English warships now under way, and also less than France, Germany, Russia and even Japan. Secretary Long as well as Secretary Root attacks the evils of exceptional promotions in disregard of seniority, and suggests instead a system of medals, one of which (to be granted for extraordinary service) shall carry with it an increase of pay similar to what the officer would receive if promoted ahead of his regular turn.

Prompt**Currency****Legislation**

The 56th congress opened on the 4th of December, with the election of David B. Henderson of Iowa to the chair so long occupied by Speaker Reed. After a short but sharp clash over the question of admitting Roberts, the Utah polygamist, who was denied permission to take the oath at least until a special committee should decide on the merits of his case, the house almost immediately settled down to consideration of the money question. A bill was introduced declaring in definite terms the gold dollar of 25.8 grains, nine-tenths fine, to be the standard of value, and all interest-bearing debts of the United States and United States notes to be redeemed in gold. It provided further for creating a department of redemption in the treasury, separate from the purely

revenue and expenditure operations of the government. The secretary of the treasury is authorized to sell bonds to maintain the gold reserve if necessary, and it is provided that greenbacks paid into the treasury for gold shall only be reissued on receipt of gold in exchange for them. Permission is granted to national banks to issue circulation up to the par value of the bonds they deposit with the government, instead of only 90 per cent. as heretofore, and the establishment of national banks with \$25,000 capital in towns of not more than 2,000 inhabitants is authorized. Simultaneously, a bill along much the same lines was introduced in the senate, containing however an additional provision for refunding at 2 per cent. about \$850,000,000 of the national bonded debt, which would extend the time of maturity in one case twenty-two years, in another twenty-three years and in another twenty-six years, beyond the dates when the old bonds would be payable.

Debate on the house bill lasted one week only, and revealed hopeless divisions among the opposition. Free silver did not enter into the debate. The bill was passed on the afternoon of December 18th by a vote of 190 to 150, eleven democrats voting for it.

New
Governor
of Cuba

Few actions of the administration have had more widespread approbation than the appointment on December 13th of Major General Leonard Wood to be military governor of Cuba. General Wood's administration of the province of Santiago has reflected such conspicuous ability, effectiveness and integrity as to put him easily at the head of our officials who have been trying to bring order out of the chaos left by the war. This is a particularly opportune appointment, because in the last few weeks there have been rumors of increasing friction

and possible outbreaks against American occupation in Cuba. This would not be surprising, since an ignorant population is likely to judge of the sincerity of promises in proportion to the promptness of their fulfilment. Necessarily, our task in Cuba will continue for some time yet, and we shall have to meet the suspicion of the inhabitants that we do not intend to act in good faith. To meet such a situation no man in our military service is better equipped than General Wood. Under his administration it seems altogether probable that our high plane of disinterested policy there, as reiterated in the president's message, looking toward complete independence of the island, will be wholly successful.

**Straggling
Warfare in
the Philippines**

On the other side of the globe we are still meeting armed resistance. The Philippine rebellion, while fast breaking up into scattered bands operating by themselves and practically without regard to central authority, still continues to drag its weary length along. It is taking on the peculiarly difficult characteristics of irregular guerrilla warfare, which no definite battle or agreement or treaty of peace is really sure to terminate. Nevertheless, the rebellion seems so near an end that congress ought to go ahead and lay out a program of local government, and provide the means necessary to establish it, just as fast as our outposts are advanced and peace established. This is the plan recommended so strongly by President Schurman, and seems far more sensible than the idea of waiting until some official surrender of the rebel army can be had.

**Pursuing
Aguinaldo**

The campaign north of Manila has almost ceased to be a campaign and taken on the characteristics of a chase,—whether a wild-goose chase or not does not yet appear.

If the primary object is to capture Aguinaldo, our troops are likely to put in a prodigious amount of overland travel before they succeed. According to the last reports, the rebel leader has changed his course and is fleeing to the South with the idea of joining the still rather formidable body of insurgents in Cavite province, south of Manila. On November 24th the president of the Filipino congress, Bautista, surrendered to General MacArthur in the vicinity of Dagupan. Early in December one of the prominent Filipino leaders, General Alejandrino, is also reported to have surrendered to MacArthur. The campaign is in many respects one of excessive hardship. The troops make incessant and prolonged marches over unfamiliar and rough territory, relying on the country for food and supplies; many are practically shoeless, and they are compelled to surmount all sorts of obstacles raised in their path by the retreating insurgents and ford all sorts of streams, sometimes the same stream a dozen times in one day. In the tropical summer as well as the Russian winter, nature fights for the man who is at home on his own ground.

Outside of Luzon little of importance is taking place in the archipelago. Commander Very, with the gunboat Castine, captured the town of Zamboanga on the island of Mindanao, about the middle of November; the insurgents evacuating the town without resistance.

**Some
Dangers
at Home**

While we are trying to put down armed insurrection and set up a stable government in the far East, by the way, we ought not to overlook the fact that portions of our own country have not advanced very far beyond the need of primary civilizing influences. Kentucky, for example, during the last few weeks has presented a discouraging spectacle. To say nothing of the barbarous torture and

burning of a negro by a mob of citizens who declined even to wear masks, and challenged the authorities to arrest them, and to pass over furthermore a number of mountain fights in which something like half a dozen Kentuckians were murdered, the political situation alone has been bad enough to cause grave anxiety to all friends of democratic institutions. It is clear that innovation of new influences of some sort is needed in Kentucky, and needed very badly. The population, which by descent at least ought to be of high quality, seems not to have learned the lesson of peaceable submission to the will of the majority much better than in the Latin-American republics. In the counting of the votes for governor thousands of Taylor votes were thrown out because of technical defects apparently brought about in advance of the election by the Goebel men; while the latter make counter-charge of gross frauds and will contest the election. Governor Taylor's plurality was 2,383, and he was inaugurated at Frankfort on December 12th. We cannot reasonably suppose that all the villainy was on one side. It is more than mere partisan frauds that is the trouble in Kentucky. The real danger element is the disposition of the people to convert elections into a matching of physical force and competition in ballot-box manipulation. This is not peculiar to Kentucky, however. It is a rather familiar aspect of southern elections, and will only disappear with the oncoming of a higher grade of industrial civilization. Mere aristocratic heredity is not a good enough guaranty of stable democracy.

Death of
Vice-President
Hobart

The death of Garret A. Hobart, Vice-President of the United States, occurred on November 21st. Mr. Hobart was perhaps the most conspicuously active occupant of the

office that the country has had, redeeming it somewhat from the tradition of honorable uselessness and general isolation from the practical affairs of government into which it had fallen. The secretary of state, John Hay, is now next in line of succession should President McKinley die before the expiration of his term. Naturally, the question of who is to occupy the second place on the ticket with Mr. McKinley next year is already a topic of active discussion. Among the most prominently mentioned are Secretary Root and Governor Roosevelt, although it is extremely unlikely that the latter, so far from desiring it, could be prevailed upon to accept it.

**The Addyston
Anti-"Trust"
Decision**

No little excitement was aroused by the decision of the United States Supreme Court, rendered on December 4th, by which the combination of the Addyston Pipe and Steel Company and other corporations is declared illegal, and ordered to be dissolved. For a time it was imagined that this might be applied to large corporations in general, which go popularly but erroneously by the name of "trusts." Further examination of the decision, however, revealed that the Addyston combination was not in the nature of a legitimate integration of capital at all, but merely a trade agreement to refrain from competition between themselves in some thirty-six states, and making other arrangements for the control of product, prices, etc. The great consolidations organized during the last year or two are of an entirely different character, being simply corporations differing from other stock companies only in size. The decision, therefore, instead of being at all alarming, is just what the organizers of such a combination as the Addyston ought to have expected, and really deserved. Combinations of that sort fill no legitimate function in economic society, and are sure to be eliminated sooner or

later by natural economic forces if not by legal measures.

**Labor's
Prosperity**

The operatives in the textile factories of Fall River, Massachusetts, in their successful demand for a ten per cent. increase of wages, set the ball rolling for the whole textile industry throughout the country. The increase was followed by most of the cotton and woolen factories throughout New England, affecting probably 150,000 employees. Not only in New England but in the South the same forces have been operating, affecting perhaps 20,000 operatives. We note also considerable wage increases by the Boston & Maine, Brooklyn Rapid Transit, and Delaware, Lackawanna and Western railroads, window-glass corporations in New Jersey, employees in the great lakes carrying trade, and in numbers of isolated establishments throughout the country. At the same time the printing trades throughout the country have been successful in securing the uniform nine-hour day. A hint of the general tendency of affairs may be found in the December Bulletin of the Bureau of Labor Statistics of New York State, showing a gain in the membership of trade unions from 188,455 on June 30th to 209,120 on September 30th, and at the same time a steady increase all along the line in per capita earnings. For the quarter ending June 30th the number of unemployed union members in the state was 4,788; in 1898 it was 9,734; in 1897, 10,893. In other words, in 1899 the percentage of unemployed was only 2.3, against 6.5 in 1897. At the convention of the American Federation of Labor, which met in Detroit on December 11th, President Gompers congratulated workingmen on the benefits of the industrial revival in which they are sharing.

**England's
Serious
Reverses**

The situation confronting England to-day is most grave. It cannot be denied that the direction of the conflict with the Boers thus far has been lamentably deficient in military judgment, serious recognition of the real situation, and adequate preparation for it. From the start the strength of the Boer army has been underestimated, and the war department under Lord Lansdowne has been provokingly slow to put forth any more effort than seemed just necessary to win if no unexpected complications arose. Wise management would have amply provided for all possible emergencies. Hundreds of lives have been sacrificed and thousands of English soldiers captured, not by reason of any lack of bravery on the part of the rank and file but simply because of inefficient generalship. At almost every point the Boers have showed evidence of more careful preparation for warfare, along scientific lines as demanded by modern conditions, than have the British, who theoretically should be past masters in strategy. It is even more than likely that the Boers have provided themselves with the aid of French and German military strategists.

**Methuen's
Advance**

Late in November Lord Methuen began his advance north through Cape Colony, just skirting the western border of the Orange Free State, for the relief of Kimberly, where Cecil Rhodes has been shut in since the beginning of the war. Winning a preliminary battle at Belmont, he pushed on and encountered a force of about 2,500 Boers on the railway line near Gras Pan, some twenty-five miles north of the Orange River. This was November 25th. The Boers were intrenched in the hills, and though finally dislodged and driven back it was only after most stubborn resistance and considerable losses on both sides. They succeeded in saving their guns

and retreated to the Modder River, where conjunction was effected with the main body of General Cronje's army. Here, on November 28th, occurred a most severe engagement. Only a small detachment of Methuen's men were able to force the river, but his artillery and long-range musketry fire drove the Boers from their entrenchments. This turned out later to be only a temporary withdrawal of artillery for the purpose of placing it more effectively farther up in the hills. The total British casualties in the Modder River battle were 471. It was a victory, if victory at all, of pure valor. No attempt was made to gain points by strategy. The heaviest losses were suffered by the Scotch Highlanders, who indeed seem to be in the front most of the time in this war.

Checked at
Modder
River

After this battle Lord Methuen crossed the Modder, and on December 9th attacked the Boers in their new position at Magersfontein. Here again no attempt was made to out-general the enemy, but the old-fashioned tactics of direct charge and storming of entrenchments was repeated. This time it failed. Even Methuen's heavy artillery practice failed to dislodge the enemy, 10,000 strong, and every attempt to advance the infantry was repulsed by the deadly sharpshooting of the Dutch farmers. In this battle once more the Highlanders were fearfully decimated, the total British loss being about 450. One of the most effective officers in Methuen's army, General Wauchope, commanding the Highland Brigade, was killed. Methuen was forced to retire to the Modder River, and at present is encamped there, in considerable danger of having his supplies cut off from the rear.

Gatacre
Outwitted

Just previous to this reverse, General Gatacre's column, which had been advancing directly north from Cape Town, with the object of invading the Orange Free State, met

a similar defeat at Stormberg, south of the Orange River. This was a clear case of being lured into ambush by Boer strategy. The only excuse General Gatacre has been able to proffer is that he was misled by guides as to the position of the Boer army and general lay of the land. About 600 of his men were taken prisoners, and Gatacre forced to retreat. The moral effect of such a reverse, especially among the Dutch residents in northern Cape Colony, is most serious, and unless the fortunes of war change very soon Gatacre's division may find itself in the midst of a volunteer army of hostile burghers right in the heart of Cape Colony.

**Disaster
in Natal**

Ill fortune has overwhelmed the English cause in Natal as well as Cape Colony.

Late in November the Boers detached a considerable part of the force investing Ladysmith and continued their march to the South, almost as far as Pietermaritzburg, which is less than fifty miles from the seaport Durban. By November 28th, however, General Buller's relief columns were fairly under way, the advance columns being under the personal lead of General Hildyard. In addition to the 4,000 or 5,000 British already in lower Natal, General Buller brought some 16,000 additional troops. Before these the Boers rapidly retired as far as Colenso, making renewed desperate efforts meanwhile to capture Ladysmith in order to send the besieging force there forward to dispute the passage of the Tugela River. General Buller's attempt to force the river was made on December 15th. Here occurred the third and by far most disastrous British defeat of the campaign. The bridge having been destroyed the British tried to ford the river under cover of artillery fire. Colonel Long was sent forward close to the river bank with the heavy guns, and took them straight into a Boer ambushade. The horses were all

killed, ten guns captured and one destroyed. Of course the attempt to force the river had to be abandoned, and General Buller retired to his camp at Chieveley, south of the river. So far from relieving Ladysmith, Buller's force is beaten back and put on the defensive until the arrival of reinforcements and fresh artillery.

**A New
Policy
Now**

The English government showed not a moment's hesitation, however, in preparing to meet this grave emergency. The aged veteran of nearly all England's important wars since the Crimean, Field-Marshal Lord Roberts, was immediately called from practical retirement and ordered to supersede General Buller in chief command, while Lord Kitchener, the victor of the last Egyptian campaign and now at Omdurman, was made Lord Roberts' Chief of Staff and ordered immediately to the front. The British force now in South Africa and on the way amounts to about 120,000 men, and along with the appointment of Lord Roberts the war department arranged for forwarding at least 100,000 more. In other words, England is putting forth the best material she can command, and may be expected to bring the whole force of the Empire to bear rather than allow her cause in South Africa to fail. Indeed, no other course is open. England cannot by any means afford defeat in this matter. Her status in the Orient even depends on it, in a degree. It is many decades since the cause of advancing civilization throughout the backward portions of the world has faced so serious a situation as is presented by the dangers that threaten the British Empire to-day.

OUR DUTY IN THE PHILIPPINES

JACOB GOULD SCHURMAN, LL.D., PRESIDENT OF CORNELL UNIVERSITY AND CHAIRMAN OF THE PHILIPPINE COMMISSION

I had better say at the outset I am not an imperialist, for I do not think that I know what it means, but still less am I an anti-imperialist, for I have a vague idea what that term implies. I am merely a plain American citizen who, in common with the great masses of my fellow-citizens, believes in doing national duty and maintaining the national honor.

The Philippine policy of the administration, which is certainly able to take care of itself and needs no defence from me if I were capable of making it, has, during the months which have elapsed, been subjected to a good deal of criticism, not to say execration. But I think we are getting through the main trouble. Uncle Sam has been for some time past like Christian in the slough of despond, with a great load upon his back, but he is now getting near the shore. That load is rolling off, and although there are encounters ahead we are assuming a more hopeful attitude, and feeling, now that Lawton has cut the lines with Manila and is after Aguinaldo and his forces with all the push and energy and ardor which animate Lawton, that the end of the insurrection is well in sight.

Portion of address delivered before the Union League of Philadelphia, Nov. 25, 1899; revised by the author for GUNTON'S MAGAZINE.

And so we are now turning our faces to new problems, civil rather than military, which are going to confront us in the immediate future. I suppose it was because of that that your chairman suggested that I say something about the Philippine archipelago and the people who inhabit it, their capability for self-government, the nature of the problems which are confronting us there and what solution of them, within human probability, it will be possible for us to achieve. For one thing, we fail to realize the vastness of this newly acquired territory. Why, gentlemen, if you were to take the map of Europe and put Cape Wrath on the northern end of the Philippine archipelago where do you suppose the toe of Italy would come? Just about the southernmost part of the archipelago. From north to south the dimensions of the Philippine Islands compare with those of Europe.

In my own experience, I sailed southward from Manila, not going northward at all, but southward from Manila—some two thousand miles in a circuit, and I might easily have doubled the distance, without once getting out of the Pacific Ocean to the east of me or the China Sea to the west. You have no idea of its vastness. Besides the great extent of the country there is the amazing variety of it. You, gentlemen, who all speak one language and read the same newspapers and think pretty much the same thoughts will be amazed at discovering that there are some fifty or sixty races in the Philippine Islands, speaking different languages mutually unintelligible to each other, nearly half a dozen of which have a membership exceeding 300,000. Here is variety with a vengeance; here are problems in self-government the like of which we never had before.

How came we into the possession of the Philippine Islands? The story has often been told. Those loving

sarcasm have said that we began a war for the emancipation of Cuba and ended with the subjugation of the Philippines. There is a point in that, but it is a superficial view. We began a war to free the people of Cuba from the yoke of their oppressors; we are waging a war in the Philippine Islands to protect the people of the Philippine Islands from their Tagal oppressors. The conditions may vary, the names may vary, but the principle is identical.

We are in the Philippines, and I am one of those who did not want to be in the Philippines. I suppose that nine hundred and ninety-nine out of every one thousand of the American people, if they had been asked two years ago to take the Philippines, would have said, "No, thank you;" and yet the islands have come to us as the result of a righteous war—come in consequence of circumstances which we could not control unless, indeed, we had chosen to throw the whole civilized world into a great international war.

When the president of the United States, greatly to my surprise, gave me the honor of asking me to go to the Philippines as the head of this commission, I said: "Mr. President, I am not the man to go. I do not believe in the acquisition of the Philippine Islands; I have spoken against it and written against it." But the president explained to me that he himself and his government had not desired originally to take the Philippine Islands, and the protocol had left him free to leave them; but, as time went on and events developed, it became perfectly obvious to him that the price of not taking the islands was such an international complication as I have already alluded to, and therefore, willy-nilly, he was obliged to take them.

This is the condition which confronts us, whether we want it or not. I believe in the freedom of the human will. Men may initiate events within certain defi-

nite limits, but there is a larger power than the human will that takes charge of the events as soon as they have been launched upon the sea of action, and then they are beyond human control. We willed the war with Spain, and we were free to have it otherwise, but having willed the war we were not free to avoid the circumstances which that series of actions involved.

And what has the government of the United States been doing? We found ourselves, greatly to our surprise, confronted with one who apparently had been willing to cooperate with us in the destruction of the Spanish power in the Philippines, now claiming to be the head, not only of the native army, but of an independent government. He demanded of us that we should leave the islands in his charge, under his autocratic will, so that he and his Tagal supporters might do in the name, forsooth, of liberty and independence, what seemed good to them. In other words, a million and a half of Tagals were to have the right to dispose of the destinies of six and a half million other Filipinos, but we said, in the name of our national honor and in the name of righteousness, "No."

As we brought liberty and peace, and will eventually bring prosperity, to Cuba, so also shall we bring order and peace and in their train good government to all the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands. To accomplish this, I am sure you will realize, will be no easy task. It is not one to be entered upon flippantly or under the influence of selfish or mercenary motives. Our aim at the beginning was humanitarian, and so it must remain throughout.

THE COST OF RAW MATERIALS

H. M. CHANCE

Why in one short year pig iron should rise in price from ten dollars to twenty dollars per ton, steel should advance from fifteen to nearly forty dollars per ton, copper should jump from eleven to nineteen cents per pound, tin more than double in price, and many other comparatively crude products score similar advances, is not fully answered by the statement commonly made that the rise in price is due to increased demand, nor by the statement that production is now controlled by trusts or combinations among producers, who taking advantage of the necessities of consumers have unreasonably advanced the price of their products.

Unless monopoly be absolute, controlling all sources of production, the price of any product is subject to competition, and is ultimately fixed by the cost of production plus a fair compensation to the capital and brains engaged in producing the article.

Eliminating the cost of raw materials, the cost of producing any finished product decreases as the quantity produced increases, for in all manufactured articles the cost of manufacture is less when the article is made on a large scale than when made in small quantities.

But this is not generally true of those natural products which are commonly termed "raw materials," because the conditions governing their modes of occurrence in nature, or the manner in which they can be grown or raised, vary widely. Large deposits of certain ores are found in some localities where the conditions are such that they can be extracted from the earth more easily than at other places; in some countries

soil and climate are found more favorable to the cheap and abundant production of certain grains, cotton or other agricultural products than is possible under conditions found elsewhere, and certain parts of the earth's surface are especially adapted to raising cattle or sheep at low cost.

All these products of nature, whether raised from the soil or gathered from deposits hidden beneath the surface, are what may be termed raw materials, into the cost of producing which there enters not only the labor cost but those natural factors which render production relatively easy or difficult.

In the production of these finished products in which skilled labor is the principal element of cost, as in the manufacture of watches, clocks, sewing-machines, or bicycles, a large increase in the demand inevitably results in lessened cost of production, due in part to economies effected by carrying on the industry on an enlarged scale, and in part by the stimulation to invention and improvement in processes which such growth insures, attracting the attention of thousands of inventors to the possibility of profitably employing their talents in that direction.

Hence, while the political economist may be right in holding that increased demand raises prices, such rise is merely incidental and temporary as regards finished products of this class, for ultimately, and quickly too, the increased demand lowers the cost of production, often in a most astounding manner. The history of bicycle manufacture in this country during the last eight years furnishes an example of the rapid fall in cost of production increased demand may accomplish.

When, however, we consider the possible effect of increased demand on the cost of producing natural products, entirely different conditions confront us, the chief of which is the unequal distribution of such natu-

ral products, and the varying difficulties attending their production in different localities.

The air we breathe is probably the only product of nature uniformly distributed and everywhere equally available. Water is a costly commodity in some regions, salt almost unknown in others, clay is absent from large areas, and in some countries sand must be transported hundreds of miles for building purposes, while in others no building stone can be found.

Rich deposits of gold, of copper, of zinc ore, of lead ore, iron ore and other minerals are found in certain districts, and relatively lean ores or small deposits in other localities.

When the demand for such metals is limited to the quantity that can be mined or extracted from ores produced by the few rich deposits, the average cost of production is low because the smaller or leaner deposits need not be worked, but any large increase in the demand requires the extension of work to those deposits more costly to work, and the average cost of production is increased correspondingly, each successive increase in the demand necessitating an extension of operations to deposits yet more costly to work,—the cost of production thus steadily rising as the demand increases.

And this is doubtless true as well of agricultural as of mineral products, although perhaps not so apparent and not so easy to demonstrate by quoting instances of such enhanced cost.

It is of course true that the enhanced market price due to increased demand for any metal or natural product stimulates search for new deposits of such metal, and if this search results in the discovery of large, rich and cheaply-worked deposits, the price and cost of production will correspondingly decline, but there is a natural limit to such discoveries because the number of such exceptional deposits is limited, and the more rapid ex-

haustion of mines of this class hastens that period of enhanced cost of production in which reliance must be upon the relatively poorer ores mined at constantly increasing cost.

The iron-ore industry of eastern Pennsylvania is a striking example of such conditions. During and immediately following the civil war (1860 to 1875) the brown hematite ore deposits of that region were most energetically developed, and mining was so vigorously prosecuted that early in the 80's the best, richest and most cheaply-mined deposits were exhausted or rapidly approaching exhaustion; so that by 1890 only the poorer class of deposits remained, with the exception, here and there, of a deposit of good ore that had been overlooked by the earlier prospectors. The average mining cost rose so high that the furnaces were compelled largely to use ores brought from the Lake Superior region, which could be delivered, ton for ton of iron made, cheaper than the local ores could be mined. Recently with increased demand it has been necessary again to have recourse to these brown hematite ore deposits, at correspondingly increased cost per ton of iron made.

Another good illustration of the general increase in cost of production following increased demand is presented by the copper mining industry. So long as the demand for copper did not exceed a given quantity, it could be supplied from mines capable of producing it at an average cost of 8 or 9 cents per pound. To supply the present large increase in the demand it is now necessary to have recourse to those deposits from which the cost of production may be 10, 12 or 15 cents or more per pound, thus notably increasing the average cost of production.

In regions where certain natural products occur in great abundance the operation of this law may not be

apparent, and increased demand may often appear to lower the cost of production. Undoubtedly this is true of such localities, but such cheapening of the cost of production is purely local.

In this country are large areas underlaid by coal beds of such thickness that they can be cheaply mined, and certainly such quantities of coal that many generations must pass before they can possibly be exhausted. Here increased demand means increased output with lower working costs; but this is exceptional and local, applying particularly to the Appalachian region. In most of our coal fields increased demand means development of coal at increasing depth, and under conditions generally of increased cost.

The production of gold, copper, silver, lead, zinc, platinum, graphite, corundum, mica, in short almost every mineral product, is governed by the law that enlarged production responding to increased demand is accompanied by an increase in the average cost of production.

But it should be observed that increased production not caused by enlarged demand is ordinarily not accompanied by higher cost of production, but on the contrary usually indicates a decline in the cost of production. Such decline may originate either in the discovery of large and cheaply worked deposits or in the discovery or invention of improved processes of extraction whereby the cost is reduced.

Declines in the cost of production from either of these causes commonly bring about a readjustment of the industry in which they occur, the reduced cost opening new possibilities of application and usefulness and enlarging the possible demand. Thus the decline in the cost of producing aluminum from \$5.00 per pound to 50 cents per pound at once raised the consumption from practically nothing to some millions of

pounds, and the further decline to 20 or 25 cents opens a new field for this metal as an electric conductor, in which it is now competing with copper, and which may further enormously increase the demand.

Perhaps this is the most striking example of recent years that can be quoted to illustrate how decreasing cost enlarges the demand for any product, but this same industry may easily furnish an example of how increased demand may increase the cost of production, for, should the demand for aluminum increase rapidly, the cost of production will doubtless rise, owing to the fact that the alumina from which it is extracted is obtained from bauxite, a mineral of comparatively rare occurrence, and the known supply of which is quite limited. Any large increase in the demand for this ore would speedily cause a rise in the cost of producing it, and thus increase the cost of making aluminum.

As the average cost of all products subject to competition is measured by the cost of production, plus a fair profit to the producer, fluctuations in the price may generally be taken as representing fluctuations in the cost of production. In the absence of combinations to control prices, the price is a fair index to the cost of production.

In recent years the demand for platinum, owing to its use in various electrical appliances, has enormously increased and the price has practically doubled. To supply this demand deposits must now be worked that were too lean to pay under former prices. In other words, the average cost of production has advanced with the increased demand. And so with almost every metal or mineral product it can be shown that when the demand becomes larger than the capacity or output of the most cheaply worked deposits, the average cost of production increases.

It is doubtless true, also, that every such increase

in demand results in developments tending to effect the natural increase in cost, by labor-saving inventions and by the discovery of cheaper and better methods of mining, preparing or extracting the product; so that, after the first advance in cost due to increased demand there follows a decline effected by these agencies, and in some cases this decline is equal to or exceeds the advance, and the net result may be a cheapening of the product. But while such a decline may and often does occur it is by no means certain that any decline will result, and in many instances no decline whatever occurs.

The recent sensational advance in the prices of iron and steel, of copper, tin, zinc and many other products, whereby prices have increased from 50 to 200 per cent. in less than a year, is explicable only as a result of the operation of this law. Great combinations of capital control the best and most cheaply worked iron and copper mines of this country, but they have not brought about this increase by shutting down their mines and creating a famine in these metals, nor by arbitrarily raising the price and refusing to sell for less than that price. On the contrary, it is well known that many of these large corporations sold their whole output, throughout this period of rising prices, months ahead, and were delivering to customers at prices far below current quotations; their customers reaping a large part of the profit from enhanced values. The fact is that the demand for these products suddenly reached proportions far beyond the capacity of these larger and more cheaply-worked deposits, and to supply this demand recourse was necessarily had to deposits of leaner ores, more costly to mine and smelt, thus increasing the cost of production to figures far above those prevalent in recent years, and virtually going back to the conditions obtaining fifteen or twenty years ago.

HAWAII AND PORTO RICO AS COLONIES

GEORGE L. BOLEN

The important question to be settled during the present session of congress is the kind of annexation policy to be adopted for Porto Rico and Hawaii. They have already been annexed, but the character of their union with the United States, their form of government, is yet to be determined by congress.

In view of probable future relations with Cuba, this question of permanent status is more momentous to the American citizen, though probably not to the party in power, than any possible glory of success or disgrace of failure in the antipodal Philippines. The eight or ten millions of people in the latter islands will readily be classed with the Chinese, whose exclusion from American residence and citizenship seems permanently settled. But the general and apparently indifferent expectation for Porto Rico and Hawaii is that they will be made territories, similar in government and future rights to the territories formed from the Louisiana and Mexican accessions.

Americans desiring to be fully worthy of their citizenship, whose rights came not for the asking but were secured with the great price of six centuries of struggle, are finding in these latter days occasions for eternal vigilance in practice as well as in theory. Such have now the duty and privilege of knowing the facts and expressing their desires concerning the kind of annexation they would have. The activities of the government proceed not so much from the will of the president and of congress as from the will of the people, whose servants they are. And, however able and honest our statesmen, they prefer an active, intelligent

public opinion to support them in their policies and to guard against mistakes. William H. Seward ranks among the country's great men, yet he was so captivated with the annexation idea that he hoped the City of Mexico would soon be the capital of the United States.

The present cases of annexation differ materially from all cases in the past. In the first place, those were annexations of territory but not of people. With Porto Rico and Hawaii there is annexation of many people but of very little territory. The French and Spaniards that came with Louisiana and Florida, an insignificant addition to the population at first, were soon lost sight of as emigration from the older sections spread over the vast new area now comprising fifteen states west of the Mississippi. The Texan republic was peopled and governed by emigrants from the older states. New Mexico and California contained some Spanish settlements, though their aggregate population was probably less than 20,000, and these were divided by the distance of a thousand miles between Santa Fé and San Francisco. Alaska was practically uninhabited by anybody eligible to citizenship. Porto Rico, however, is said to be one of the most densely populated areas in the world. Its 3,530 square miles sustain 850,000 people, an average of about 240 to every 640 acres; and Hawaii's 100,000 is a considerable population for its 6,500 square miles of mountainous and volcanic islands.

In the second place, the island populations where they are cannot be absorbed and assimilated by the whole body of the American people, provided the assimilating capacity of the latter were not already overtaxed by immigration from Europe. Only a few hundreds from the states are likely to crowd into Porto Rico, and only several thousands into Hawaii. These may be partially absorbed the other way. How different was the case with California, when the rush of gold

seekers set in immediately after annexation. Neither can the islanders be assimilated by removal to the states. Except the Chinese and Japanese in Hawaii, who are excluded by law, the bulk of each population, even if welcome, is not fitted to compete in the struggle for existence in the United States.

Thirdly, the previous annexations took place before the time of European immigration, while the American population yet consisted almost wholly of the original stock. At present, however, the foreign element predominates in the populous centers.

If the form of territorial government adopted for Porto Rico and Hawaii is the same as that of the western territories, the prospect of admission to the union as states will be included. A radically different basis would make a safer annexation. Professor H. P. Judson, in his exhaustive article in the *Review of Reviews*, has showed conclusively that there will be no constitutional difficulty in forever withholding American citizenship and statehood from the island populations, or in applying the tariff and navigation laws to the islands in any way that may prove preferable. But the decision (or recommendation) by the insular commission, in their report of last July, that the islands as now annexed belong to but are not a part of the United States (following Professor Judson's statement) was criticized unfavorably by leading anti-imperialist newspapers, with no apparent reason except to find fault; and it was reported from Washington that the gratuitous recommendation or opinion of the commission displeased the president and would receive no attention from the government. In his message to congress the president has recommended practically the territorial form of government.

The interests of the American people and of American civilization imperatively demand that in the for-

mation by congress of a government for Porto Rico and Hawaii they be permanently annexed as colonies, with no rights of American citizenship or statehood. This would be a precedent for Cuba, if it should eventually be annexed. These people would then in each case be citizens of their own island, and would be secure in their enjoyment at home of all the rights and immunities guaranteed by the constitution except the right to vote on United States affairs. What more could reasonably be asked? Perhaps there are no freer people than the Australian colonists, people of English blood, yet they are not voters in England and never expect to be. They lead the world in some advanced methods of free government, and do not feel that their highest aspirations are blighted by reason of their position as colonists in an imperial system.

The American citizenship that made this country, that predominated everywhere before the overspreading rise of the immigration flood twenty-five years ago, would most likely be overbalanced in power by the admission a few years hence of two senators and six or seven congressmen from an entirely foreign population in Porto Rico. Hawaii would be likewise foreign unless the few Americans, English and Germans should acquire some kind of oligarchical control over the masses.

Even without statehood in any of the islands, prevailing American citizenship in the near future bids fair to be of uncertain quality. Annual immigration is getting back again toward the half million mark, below which it dropped in 1893, and a larger proportion than ever come from the interior and the south of the European continent. People from these sections become Americanized only after many years' residence, when scattered in small communities, but those who come now chiefly join settlements of their own people

in the large cities, and remain in many cases as foreign as before they came. In their unfriendliness toward existing conditions, education may render them more dangerous. The birth rate is undoubtedly higher among the foreign population than the native—probably much higher. New England is now said to be foreign in blood and in religion—foreign at least to what was once characteristic of New England. New York city and Chicago, the chief centers, are foreign by a large majority of voters. In perhaps all the other large cities the foreign element holds the balance of power. The country population in some states is decreasing, while the cities have lately been growing faster than in any previous period, and are expected to acquire more and more power in state and nation. The relative increase of foreign population since the civil war seems destined to continue. Restriction of immigration becomes more difficult as it is delayed. Americanizing influences weaken as population gathers in cities with the American element becoming less important. This country is not now governed by the same kind of American sentiment that prevailed up to the centennial year, and later.

The change of residence has been a good thing for the immigrants, most of whom have prospered, though there is little improvement in condition for those who come over now and join the submerged tenth. But what of the Americans who have been supplanted in the government of their own home cities? And does the change work for progress in civilization, and for human welfare? May not the American tree be stripped too greedily of its life-giving fruit and of its healing leaves to admit of its continuance in bearing, and America cease to be a synonym for opportunity? If wisdom is learned from the experience so far, and determined action promptly begun, an affirmative an-

swer to the second question may be worked out. In the flush times following the civil war there was more complacency in the American mind than mortal man dare indulge with impunity. Not a few still treasure this same complacency, and cry "pessimism!" when it is questioned. Truly, when this mood prevails we have here no continuing city. After all, this immigration from Europe is simply a modern case of the westward movement of the human race. Neither Alaric the Goth nor Attila the Hun ever led over Europe a greater horde than America has received year after year. But in our battle of Chalons, to preserve the heritage the fathers won, the martial spirit will not suffice. A higher grade of courage is required. There must be a willingness to face facts as they are, however repugnant, and a heroic disregard of clamorous factions that hinder the progress and welfare of the nation.

The discussion in the two preceding paragraphs has a distinct bearing on the status of the Spanish islands. As the political parties have hesitated, in view of the foreign vote, to check the tide of immigration, the annexed islands ought to be placed so clearly outside of the union as to afford no party a temptation to admit a new state to gain senators and congressmen. The creation of an indestructible state is a serious matter. Some of the new Rocky Mountain states whose admission helped a doubtful majority in the senate may not be a benefit to the union. The case of Nevada, though not new, is often mentioned, with her two senators and one congressman from a population equalled in many cases by an eastern or central agricultural county. In a recent magazine article it was stated that in a treaty vote senators representing four million people can thwart the will of senators representing the remaining sixty-six million.

A religious inducement also would exert pressure

toward the admission of Porto Rico and Cuba if in their territorial government they were not placed permanently outside of the union. The strongest church organization in America (also the strongest in Europe) would gain for her American body practically all of these two million islanders if they should be admitted to citizenship. It was estimated that adherents of this church constituted two-thirds of the 50,000 immigrants who landed in this country during a recent month.

It would seem that the party in power, for its own interests as well as those of the nation it governs, should not hesitate to place these Spanish islands beyond the bounds of possible statehood. The opposition party would probably win a large majority of their vote. The republican claim to gratitude for driving out the Spaniards could be met by the democrats with their advocacy of Cuban independence, and also with their part in forcing the administration into the war. The republican share of the country's total foreign vote is undoubtedly a minor fraction; and it is especially small among the Irish, French Canadians, and southern Europeans, with whom the Porto Ricans and Cubans would most likely unite. Yet this clamorous fraction (or rather, the larger fraction whose votes the republicans never get) seems to receive from them more consideration in politics than their own voters to the manner born. It is because the native Americans (except the powerful industrial interests) ask so little and accept less. By making the islands each a possession but not a part of this country, the president and the republican majority in congress will further the true interests not only of the faithful in their party and of this nation as a whole but also of the islanders themselves, and of those who may yet find a home in this land of promise. Humanity's chief hope lies in the success of "the American experiment."

THE NEW CURRENCY BILL

At last the republican party, with the full cooperation of the administration, is facing the money question. In 1896 the election was won by the republicans and lost by the democrats on the issue of the money standard. At the opening of the campaign the democratic party under the leadership of Mr. Bryan was boldly and almost arrogantly demanding "bimetallism," not merely as meaning the use of both gold and silver coins as full legal-tender money but as meaning the free and unlimited coinage of silver at a ratio of sixteen parts of silver to one of gold. As the campaign developed, the discussion of the subject drew the lines tighter and tighter and there was no escaping the real issue, between the gold standard and the silver standard which the free coinage of silver necessarily involved.

Yet, during the whole campaign the republican party was as sensitive and delicate as possible on the point of the gold standard. Mr. Bryan and the democratic party were as bold and defiant as reckless political adventure could demand. They denounced the gold standard and all who favored it, and charged all who were not in favor of the free coinage of silver at sixteen to one as being in favor of the single gold standard. Much of the campaign was taken up with repelling this charge. The republicans and the gold democrats grew bolder and bolder, however, in the affirmation that free coinage of silver would be disastrous to the business and financial interests of the country. Yet, even at the close of the campaign they had not reached the point where they were ready boldly to affirm that the single gold standard should be declared and adhered to as the national policy. Even after the election the

president appointed a commission to go to Europe to try to bring about an international union for the establishment of bimetallism in the leading countries.

All economic and financial influences, however, from that time to this have headed very rapidly away from silver and towards the gold standard. During these three years in which Mr. Bryan has been trying to educate the American people, while adhering to the Chicago platform in the abstract and occasionally announcing that free silver was still the issue, he has felt the force of events and has said less and less about sixteen to one. The revival of business, the development of new industries and growth of prosperity throughout the country, has helped this tendency and done much to crystallize national sentiment in favor of the gold standard. In 1896 nearly seven million votes were cast for the presidential candidate who made free silver the main proposition in his campaign. It is more than probable that if an election should take place now, and upon the single issue of the free coinage of silver, the same candidate would not be able to get much more than half his following of 1896. The result is that Mr. Bryan as a political leader has been compelled to tack, and make trusts and anti-expansion the conspicuous topics for campaign propaganda.

During the march of events and rapid crystallization of public sentiment on this subject in the last three years, some degree of impatience has been expressed that the administration and republican party did not really take hold of the money question and embody the ideas endorsed by the election of 1896, and which have been confirmed and extended month by month ever since, in law. But it is always true that when the people begin to recognize the importance of a subject they are impatient because the government does not move more rapidly. Wendell Phillips, representing

the northern abolitionists, once reproached President Lincoln for not declaring for the abolition of slavery, when Mr. Lincoln replied: "Mr. Phillips, your function and mine are different. Your function is to make public opinion and mine is to use it. Go on and make it as fast as you can, and we will use it as fast as you make it." There was real philosophy in that. Governments, especially in democracies, can never travel much faster than the people. That is why the real educational forces tell most effectively when they work among the people.

When the present administration was elected in 1896 it was by rather a close call. The popular vote for Bryan was nearly as large as that for McKinley. The nation was not very emphatic in favor of the gold standard. Hence, perhaps there is a naturalness in the seeming slowness with which the administration, and the administration party in congress, have moved toward this question. But economic forces and continual discussion by those who understand the subject have educated the people so that now public opinion is growing not only for the gold standard but for a good deal more improvement in our fiscal system, and it is encouraging to see that not only the party in power, but a large section of the democratic party, are willing to use this growing public opinion and convert into law what is now dominantly the opinion of the American people.

With the opening of congress the first important measure to receive consideration is the money question. In both the house and the senate a measure has been presented on the subject. It is a good sign of the situation that both these measures have been worked over by representative men in the respective houses, so that they are presented to congress in a somewhat digested form. Although they can hardly be regarded as being anything like a comprehensive dealing with

the banking and currency question, yet both measures deal quite effectively with a few important phases of the subject.

First of all, both the house and senate bills (which are so nearly alike in most respects that there will probably be little difficulty in the two houses agreeing on the same measure) first and foremost deal with the gold standard. This seems at first sight to be almost an unnecessary step, as it is generally agreed that we not only have the gold standard but have had it since 1834. Practically this is true, yet technically the gold standard is not established by law in any such way as to prevent the president, if he so determined, from putting us on a silver basis.

The peculiarity of our financial mechanism is such that the monetary standard is sustained, not by the business and banking methods of the country, but solely by the government. It is entirely true that for sixty-five years the business of this country has been done on the assumption that final payments of balances in both public and private obligations would be made in gold, but the responsibility for this rests entirely on the willingness of the government to pay its own obligations in gold and furnish the coin for private individuals to do the same. Strictly speaking, in the last analysis nobody is really called upon to furnish gold in this country except the government. That is because our paper money consists of legal-tender government notes, or bank-notes endorsed by the government, which practically amounts to the same thing. In order to keep all our paper money up to the gold standard the government has to pay gold for the paper currency whenever it is demanded, and nobody else is called upon to do so, because nobody else issues any paper money. Nobody is called upon to pay gold for greenbacks except the United States government; so that, whenever gold

is needed the greenbacks are used as the means of getting it. They are presented to the treasury, and in order to sustain the solvency of the government it has to furnish gold, and if it has none it must go out and borrow it. This was done several times during the last administration.

The obligations the government has contracted, both in issuing bonds to get gold to enable the banks to accommodate their customers, and obligations of other character, are made to be paid in coin at the option of the government. Consequently, so far as we have two legal tender coins, silver and gold, the government, which for the time being is the president and his secretary of the treasury, can select which of the two metals shall be used in paying the obligation. Now the maintenance of the gold standard depends entirely upon the government continuing to pay gold for its obligations. If it should decide at any time to pay silver, which under existing laws it has a perfect right to do, then all our paper money would be on a silver basis. The greenbacks would be redeemed in silver, treasury notes redeemed in silver, all the bonded indebtedness be paid in silver. Since nobody else is called upon to furnish gold, or even coin for that matter, the kind of coin the government furnishes in payment for its obligations is the coin that fixes the standard of all other business transactions. So that, after all, while we have been actually on a gold basis for sixty-five years, for half of that time the maintenance of the gold standard has depended absolutely upon the will of the president and his secretary of treasury. If, therefore, we should by any accident have a man of Mr. Bryan's ideas and disposition as president, with a secretary of the treasury who shared his views, they could, and if they had the courage of their convictions they would, at once use silver in the payment of public obligations.

This they would have a distinct legal right to do until congress should determine otherwise. In this way we are exposed to the danger of changing our standard from gold to silver entirely independent of any public expression or legislation upon the subject, a danger the significance and extent of which few people can comprehend.

Both bills now before the house and senate definitely dispose of this danger by declaring that all interest-bearing obligations of the United States and all United States notes and treasury notes shall hereafter be payable in gold coin, a dollar of which shall contain 25.8 grains of gold, nine-tenths fine, or 23.22 grains of pure gold. If either of these measures becomes law, hereafter no president or other officer will have the right to pay any public obligations of this country or redeem any greenbacks or United States notes in anything but gold coin, unless the person receiving it should for some incomprehensible reason prefer silver. This will establish the gold standard beyond a doubt, and beyond the reach of anybody but the people of the United States acting through their representatives in congress.

Another, and in some respects scarcely less important feature of both measures, is the terminating of the endless use of the greenbacks and government notes as instruments for draining the gold out of the treasury to pay private obligations. Of course, when this measure passes, all the government notes that are outside can be so used, but they can only be used once. Something less than thirty millions of these notes are now in the treasury, leaving considerably over four hundred millions which can be used to make the government "hustle" for gold. But this bill provides that hereafter when these notes are presented they shall never again be re-issued or paid out except in exchange for

gold, so that when the government has once paid gold for them it shall never be called upon to do so again. Heretofore the government could be made to pay and has been made to pay gold for these notes over and over again. The banks always keep government notes as they come in for deposit, and pay out to their customers who need paper money only the silver certificates and bank-notes. But the government, when called upon to pay gold for greenbacks, has heretofore paid the greenbacks out again for salaries and expenses, and they have immediately filtered their way back into the banks. Thus, whenever for purposes of foreign trade bankers or merchants have wanted additional gold they have simply used the greenbacks over again to make the government furnish it, and, as already stated, it has frequently happened that this has drained the government's stock of gold below the safety point. In order to maintain the gold standard and prevent a panic the government has had to issue bonds to borrow gold and pay the interest, only to have the same performance repeated whenever the occasion required. Mr. Cleveland's three bond issues were all caused chiefly by this "endless chain" system. The refusal hereafter to pay out greenbacks except in exchange for gold puts an end to this performance.

Of course, this may result in half or two-thirds of the government notes being retired. This would constitute a contraction of the currency of from two to three hundred millions, which is an undesirable thing, but the volume of the currency can be dealt with subsequently if occasion requires. The breaking of this interminable drain upon the treasury for gold for private purposes is well worth the risk of currency contraction involved. Moreover, in order to prevent any financial fright arising from this paying out of gold, both the house and senate bills provide that the secretary of the

treasury shall have full power to issue bonds to secure whatever gold is necessary to maintain the reserve fund for this redemption purpose.

Beyond this the proposed legislation promises very little. To establish the gold standard and stop the endless drain of gold from the treasury are two real, solid steps toward a more wholesome and sound financial system. But this does not do much, indeed it can hardly be said to do anything, in the way of giving us a sound banking system. It only takes two excellent preliminary steps. It is perhaps too much to expect, in the present state of the public mind and for that matter the state of mind of the republican party, that we should have anything like a comprehensive banking and currency reform undertaken. Yet the constant recurrence of what is called monetary stringency, which creates a fright in Wall Street and a financial flutter all over the country, cannot be escaped until something is done toward the introduction of sound principles in our banking system.

One of the crude features of our financial system which ought to be remedied by the present congress, and it really seems might have been incorporated in the present bills, is our sub-treasury system. This is a system by which all the government funds are kept locked up in the treasury and sub-treasuries just as a miser hoards money in a hole in the floor. At this writing this amounts to about two hundred and eighty-eight million dollars. Now this is practically a contraction of the volume of circulating money in the country. Under ordinary business conditions in other civilized countries that would be on deposit in some bank or banks, thus adding two hundred and eighty-eight millions to the available funds at the disposal of the banks for use in the business of the country. In proportion as the government revenues are liberal,

which the prosperity of the country may increase, this system serves to contract the volume of money at just the time when it is most needed in business circulation. To abolish this system would not involve any disturbance, but it would tend to compensate for the contraction which the retirement of the government notes by refusal to pay out except for gold will involve. This may, as already pointed out, lead to a contraction of anywhere from two to three hundred millions. If the surplus of government revenues now held in the sub-treasuries were put on deposit in the national banks, that would add to the volume of available money fully as much as may be subtracted from it by the retention of all the government notes that are paid in. This would involve no disturbance. It would offset the disturbing possibility, as just suggested, and it would forever get rid of the crude, uneconomic and uncivilized method of treating government funds.

It is to be hoped that somebody in congress will have the courage to amend the bill now under discussion, either in the house or senate, or perhaps in the conference, so as to provide that all government funds shall be placed on deposit *pro rata* with national banks in reserve cities. These deposits might, if necessary, be made a preferred lien on the entire assets of the bank, so as to give added security if any were needed; and could also be a source of income to the government, since the banks would be able to pay for the use of the money.

After these crude features of our monetary system have been sufficiently eliminated the course will at least be clear for undertaking some real reform in our banking system. This will be the more feasible and meet with less opposition in proportion to the success attending the working of the bills passed by the present congress. With the gold standard unmistakably estab-

lished by law, and silver placed where even the influence of fanatics cannot make it dangerous without the legislative consent of the people through congress, and the government funds made a permanent part of the circulating volume available for business, a good session's work will have been accomplished. The administration party will have reasonably redeemed its pledges to the nation, at least to the extent of showing its good faith and loyalty to a sound money policy. The passage of this measure, especially if it can be made to include abolition of the sub-treasury system, will be a real monetary education, both for the members of congress who participate in the discussion and for the country as it observes the solidifying and wholesome effect of the operations of the new measure. This education will soon lead to a more imperative demand in the community for an efficient and comprehensive treatment of the banking question.

SOCIAL EDUCATION CONGRESS AT PARIS

The following explanation and appeal in behalf of the international congress on social education, to be held in connection with the Paris Exposition next year, has been received from Mr. Howard J. Rogers, of the United States Commission to the Exposition. The appeal is issued by M. Leon Bourgeois, president of the congress, and former prime minister of France. This will be the first international congress of the sort ever held, and it ought to prove a powerful educational force. The invitation to participate, it will be seen, is very general, and should appeal to all students of the economic and social sciences:

From the political and social discussions which have agitated minds since the middle of the nineteenth century, a clear line of thought has resulted in which those holding the most diverse opinions agree; it is the idea of a social bond existing among individuals, and of their mutual responsibility in the acts of society.

Hence it is necessary to decide both with a view to conformity with experimental science and also to satisfy the idea of justice, what conditions of association are to be established voluntarily among all men. This is not only for the definition of political rights and duties, but also and especially to define the rights and duties which concern the material and moral life of individuals, the legal institution of the family, the organization of labor, or, in sum, the definition of social rights and duties.

To introduce this new idea into minds—in a word, to give the education of the social sense to humanity, is the task imposed henceforward on those who seek peaceful solutions of the social problem.

The investigation of the means to this end is the object of the study which we propose. According to the program already published by the group charged with questions of social education, the first thing to be done is to clearly ascertain the present state of ideas on this subject, and then to fix on the method to be followed in order to secure this education to every individual. The group is undertaking a special exhibition, to furnish the greatest possible amount of information concerning these questions. To complete its action and prepare future work, we have also undertaken to gather together in a special congress, at the Exposition of 1900, all those who are able, in any degree whatsoever, to cooperate in the work of social education. We ask their help, for the preliminary studies, for the congress itself, and for the propaganda which should follow.

In order that social education should be rational, it is first of all necessary that special studies should establish its method, which is so far little known and ill defined. Method demands observation, the verification of facts, for a clear understanding of them, for in this way their existence becomes known. Then we must learn the principles on which the facts depend, and the laws which govern them. In this way we come to know their philosophy. Finally, we must examine the practical consequences which they bring along with them, and thus complete the necessary theoretical knowledge.

When once the methods have been established, the work of educators will consist in spreading it by keeping in practice to the ideas which have been gained, with the same forward movement and order which have served to gain them.

Social education will accordingly be accomplished by bringing individuals to the knowledge of social facts, so that the idea may become clear in their minds; by

starting up in their conscience the feeling which brings forth action conformable to the ideal adopted; and, finally, by strengthening idea and feeling enough through action constantly practiced so as to come to the complete constitution of what may be called the social sense, that is, to action which has become unconscious through acquired habit.

This process will form the necessary practical means for making complete education possible later on. Education is really acquired only when individuals by sufficient study have come to have a clear idea of what is true; and such an idea is then sufficient to decide their choice and action. But in the present state of average knowledge it is necessary, by immediate practical activity forming new habits and environment, to bring about further progress, through which full knowledge of social truths shall be acquired by all the individuals who make up society.

We earnestly demand adherents to this congress of social education, whose work may be so important for the development and progress of humanity. You can verify from our program that a vast field is open, in which there is work for every activity. Thinkers and men of action should alike bring their aid. The first part appeals to scientific minds and philosophers for the study of a body of doctrine of high social import; the second should attract all those who may have to do with the education of the people, school teachers, professors, students and devoted citizens; the third is addressed to all those who are already showing their activity or are ready to show it for the greater good of the future.

The membership of the congress brings with it no obligation. A subscription of ten francs—the only one—has been fixed on to defray the expenses of organizing the congress.

EDITORIAL CRUCIBLE

IN THE numerous subjects discussed by the president in his message, trusts came in for a little more than half a column. It is difficult to find from his language what the president wants done. He is sufficiently general to be pointless, and sufficiently lengthy not to be charged with omitting the subject. The tone of his language about "healthy competition," and "monopolizing the production or sale of articles of commerce," the "dangerous conspiracies against the public good," and so forth, are sufficiently commonplace to satisfy the populist, and might indeed be taken as fair competition with Mr. Bryan's bid upon the subject. If the object of the president was to prevent the democrats from having a monopoly of anti-trust powder, he seems to have done very well. After dwelling approvingly upon Mr. Cleveland's efforts in this direction, the president seriously commits the subject to congress. It seems a little too bad that in his official message to congress the president of the United States should feel it necessary to throw this kind of a "tub to the whale."

THE RECENT increase of operatives' wages in Fall River, which is the second within about a year, has had the encouraging and wholesome effect of securing an increase of wages throughout New England. It is very encouraging to observe that the Fall River corporations, which really set the pace for New England, are much more appreciative of the industrial conditions and act with infinitely more intelligent consideration, not to say humanity, toward the wage question and the interests and demands of the wage class than they did twenty-five years ago. Two advances in wages amount-

ing twenty-two per cent. have been granted with no evidence of real friction between laborers and corporations. Twenty-five years ago strikes or protracted agitation verging on strikes, sufficient to create general disturbance of business, would have been necessary to secure any such concessions. Experience is severe and sometimes bitter but in the long run it does educate, and the lessons learned in this way are not easily forgotten. Fall River has had more bitter industrial experience for both sides than any dozen towns in New England. In a sense it has fought the industrial battles for New England for a quarter of a century. But to-day its leading employers are more considerate and intelligent on the great industrial questions than the capitalists in almost any other manufacturing city in the country.

ON THE first of September the new sweatshop law went into effect in New York. It provides that the manufacturing and repairing of a multitude of articles of clothing, etc., made in tenements and quasi-tenements, be prohibited except under a license granted by the factory inspectors, and before granting such a license a certain standard of sanitation and other wholesome appointments must be insisted upon. It appears, however, that the whole sweatshop work is going on very much as before, with perhaps some improvement in the sanitary conditions, which is evidently more largely the work of the board of health than of the factory inspectors. In Rivington Street, Ridge Street, Ludlow Street, and the whole section in the vicinity of Mott and Baxter Streets, shops are in full blast without having received any license, and many of them not having been visited by the factory inspectors for months. At 48 Ludlow Street, for example, there are about twenty-four shops in a single building, and

not a license in one of them. In most cases the workers in the shops cannot speak the English language, and when one goes to make inquiry they open their mouths and stare. It is necessary to have a Hebrew and an Italian interpreter along. It is manifest that in order to deal adequately with this sweatshop business the law will have to be again amended, and perhaps the factory inspectors too; but most necessary of all is an amendment to the immigration laws so as to stop the influx of this class of people into our industrial system. Unless the immigration is practically stopped for a time, or at least efficiently checked for a long period, it will be nearly impossible effectively to eliminate this sweatshop system.

THE REPORT of the secretary of the treasury on the country's finances is another contribution to wholesome literature on banking and currency. Mr. Gage has been the one person in the present administration whose influence and utterances have been constantly in the direction of genuine improvement in our monetary and banking system. In each of his reports he has recommended some practical reform, and always in the right direction. He appears to be one of the few bankers who, besides knowing how to run the business machinery of a bank, knows something of the history and principle of true banking. He has repeatedly called attention to the defective features of our banking machinery, particularly the sub-treasury system and the iron-bound, non-expansive quality of our currency. But, what is more, he locates the evil in the right place. He sees that the real hampering features of our banking system are the existence of the greenbacks and the expensive bond security for national bank-notes, which really deprive our banks from performing one of the essential features of good banking, the issue of non-le-

gal-tender bank currency which will expand in response to sound business needs and contract when those needs recede or disappear. But, with our non-elastic system, instead of contraction of the currency when the business needs diminish, we have congestion in the large cities, which tends to stimulate speculation and business inflation, and when the money is required for great industrial or crop-moving purposes its transference to the legitimate field creates a stringency and sometimes a panic in the large cities. Mr. Gage's minute and yet lucid explanation of the movements in this operation is one of the best statements of the case that has been published for a long time. It is a real contribution to the sound financial literature of the period. It should be studied by every business man in the country, and it would be a great addition to the information of most bankers.

IN HIS opening address to the annual convention of the American Federation of Labor at Detroit, Mr. Gompers again gave evidence of the growing sense among intelligent trade unionists on large industrial questions. The two topics to which he referred, outside of strictly labor union matters, were trusts and expansion. On trusts Mr. Gompers took the broad and sensible ground that they are simply larger corporations which are growing out of the various industrial struggles of the time. He recognizes in this movement the spirit of organization, and that it will continue just so long as it yields advantages. Unlike many industrial reformers Mr. Gompers recognizes that he himself, and the American Federation, represent this same principle in the movement of the wage workers. Of course he claims a higher motive for the laborers' efforts, which is only human. The significance of this is not in the fact that Mr. Gompers refuses to join the political and

quasi-political clamor against large corporations, but that as the representative of labor he has taken this position before the trust conference in Chicago, before the industrial commission in Washington, and before the Federation convention itself. This means that he represents the sentiment of the most intelligent workers in the labor movement, because, bold as Mr. Gompers may appear, he is not the man to fly in the face of the convictions of the unions of which he is the national representative. So that, this rational and really progressive attitude of Mr. Gompers on the trust question represents the growing intelligence on this subject among the best organized and most intelligent wage workers in the country.

On the question of expansion Mr. Gompers probably bubbles over a little into the Atkinsonian field, and lends his influence to a new copperhead movement. Yet the point of his contention on this matter is that the annexation of new groups of semi-barbarism is detrimental to the interests of the laborers in the United States. In this he is unquestionably right.

THE PRESIDENT'S announcement in his message that "Our plain duty is to abolish all customs tariffs between the United States and Porto Rico and give her products free access to our markets" is naturally hailed with special satisfaction by the free-trade journals of the country. The doctrine upon which protection has been supported in this country, and by nobody more strongly than by the president himself, is that the basis of competition in the American market shall be the American labor cost of production. The only reason for having a protective tariff on products of foreign countries is to make importing competitors pay in tariff duties the equivalent of the difference in labor cost.

This is the economic and equitable basis of protective tariffs.

Now the president recommends that this entire principle be abolished in our relation to Porto Rico, whose wages are lower than those of almost any European nation. If the free importation of Porto Rican products would have been an economic injury to American industries last year, they will be so now. Nothing has occurred to change that fact. If it be said that this is made necessary by the annexation of Porto Rico to the United States, then that is a frank confession that the annexation of Porto Rico is an economic and industrial mistake. Either the president's free-trade proclamation regarding Porto Rico is a mistake or the annexation of the island is a mistake, or the tariff policy for which the president has always stood and by virtue of which he received his present office is a mistake.

The truth is that Porto Rico is no more a real part of the United States now than when it belonged to Spain, and agricultural industries in this country need just as much protection as they ever did from her low-wage conditions. If we must adhere to the mistake of having semi-barbarous colonies, we ought not to make the double mistake of also opening the door to their depressing influence upon our domestic industries. If free trade with Porto Rico will not injure American industries, then free trade with Cuba would not, and much less would free trade with Canada where higher wage conditions prevail, and still less with England where even higher wages and shorter hours exist.

THE LEARNED PROFESSIONS IN STATE UNIVERSITIES

W. F. EDWARDS, FORMER PRESIDENT UNIVERSITY OF
WASHINGTON

It is not infrequently that we hear state universities spoken of as if they were institutions supported by the taxation of the general public but only of benefit to a few. Frequently this benefited class is said to be made up of the sons and daughters of the wealthy. So strong is this feeling that in one state at least it became a sort of slogan in the election of the state officers (regents of the university being appointed by the governor). It probably will be admitted by all that the right to tax the people for the support of the state universities must be based on utility and necessity to the whole state or community and not on utility to particular individuals who take courses of study in them.

There are those who seem to believe that no school is of general utility unless everybody not only may but also does take advantage, directly, of the instruction given therein. They discredit the general utility of the high schools as well as that of the state universities and would only have instruction in reading, writing, spelling, ciphering, and the keeping of accounts, in any school supported by public taxation. Of these one can only say that he hopes the time may speedily come when no one can be found with this narrow perspective of educational affairs.

There are, among those who believe in the general utility of the high schools and universities, many who believe that the high schools are places where subjects are studied as if to acquire knowledge was the sole aim of these schools. This class believe that the use of

knowledge to give a broader idea of citizenship and a better understanding of our duties and responsibilities as citizens in society should be the first aim of these schools and that the knowledge acquired in them should be of the best kind for this purpose. They do not believe that a few lessons under the name of political and social science sandwiched into a heterogeneous mixture of subjects studied more or less independently of each other will accomplish this result. They believe that a formal study of political or social science, which is not an outgrowth of an understanding of nature and its relations to and effects on social organization, is more or less a lesson in dogmatism and therefore to be avoided.

This class recognize the influence that the state universities have had in modeling the courses of study in the high schools, and point out that the professional tendencies of the state universities have led to the same tendencies in the high schools, as evidenced by the courses of study that have been introduced into these high schools rather as preparation for these professional courses in the universities than as a general education which would be best for all independently of any idea of the profession to be followed in after life. They seem to believe that these courses of study could each and all be labeled "short cuts to money getting." There has been reason for such a belief, but the whole blame should not be placed on the state universities, and we must not overlook the good that has come from the introduction of these professional courses of study.

Within a period of about a half century we have seen scientific courses of study leading to degrees introduced into the state universities in spite of bitter opposition. We have seen these degrees multiplied to correspond to the increasing importance of certain lines of manufactures and trades and distinguished as the degree of bachelor of science in general science, in civil

engineering, in mechanical engineering, in sanitary engineering, in mining engineering, in marine engineering, in electrical engineering, in architecture, in chemistry, in pharmacy, in physics, in astronomy, in mathematics, in botany, in zoology, in pedagogy. Along with this multiplication of degrees has come the almost unrestricted election of subjects of study which amounts to a multiplication of other degrees for professional purposes, although they are not so definitely labeled with the stamp of immature professionalism.

The three oldest professions, divinity, medicine and law, have been more or less subjected to the influence of this specialization and division. Theology has practically been lost in the multiplication of creeds, sects, and new religions. This has practically driven the study of theology from the state universities, as it has been confused with sectarianism and religion. A statement in a state constitution that “—No public money or property shall be appropriated for or applied to any religious worship, exercise or instruction, or the support of any religious establishment. No religious qualification shall be required for any public office or employment—” was not intended, in my opinion, to prevent the study of the philosophy and history of the development of religions. Such a course of study could scarcely be called religious instruction, but could be called instruction concerning religions, which to my mind is quite a different thing. Of course this all comes up in connection with any well-conducted study of history, so that it is not at all necessary for the universities to offer courses of study especially devoted to theology or religions in order to be free from the charge of circumscription. Medicine has lost its handmaid, pharmacy, which has gone out into business for itself and brought into the state universities one of the weakest of the professional courses of study. Dentis-

try, another offshoot from this same profession, has likewise gone into business for itself with a like result. Like divinity, medicine has lost much by "isms" and has thus become divided until we have allopathy, homeopathy, eclecticism, osteopathy, etc., and those mongrel combinations of divinity and medicine known as faith cure, divine healing, Christian Science, etc. So far as I am aware, only the first two have found places in the state universities. This is one too many divisions. Medicine and surgery should be studied in universities without special reference to "isms." In law there has been a tendency to lose sight of the science of jurisprudence in the study of the technicalities of the practice of the law as evidenced by the tendency toward specialties such as criminal law, railroad law, etc., almost at the beginning of the study of the profession.

Along with this multiplication and splitting up of the professions in the state universities have come numerous professional schools from which professional men and women are turned out at such a rate and of such a low grade of attainment that we are now burdened with too many people in every profession. The attainment has been so low that a great many people have not learned to distinguish, for example, a quack in medicine from a well trained and scholarly "regular." A "one-horse" lawyer is apt, apparently, to be financially as successful as one who has had the best training and who is as intelligent as any to be found. Mechanical engineers must compete with mechanics; electrical engineers with linemen; civil engineers with surveyors; and text-book-cramming teachers with real teachers, and so on.

The kind of adjustment that is needed for this is that of raising the standard of required qualifications for admission to the practice of a learned profession. In

the larger state and other universities where the number of students has become great enough to admit of some independence of the faculties in shaping the policy of the institution, there has invariably been an increase in the educational qualifications required for admission to and graduation from these professional courses of study. There has been a marked change in this respect within the last twenty-five years. The medical and law courses have changed from courses with very little educational qualification for admission and with a requirement of two terms' work of six months each or even less time, for graduation, to courses with an educational requirement for admission nearly equal to that required for admission to the courses of study in the departments usually called literature, science and the liberal arts (a three or four-year high school course), and with a requirement of from three to four terms' work of nine months each for graduation. The requirements for admission to and graduation from courses in dentistry and pharmacy have also been increased within this period of time, but the requirements for these departments are in general not of so high standard as are required for other professional courses. Courses of study leading to degrees in engineering are generally the same as those for the degree of bachelor of science, in the departments of literature, science and the liberal arts.

If it is true that a large amount and kind of preliminary culture training is needed to make a well-trained doctor, lawyer or minister of the gospel, one may ask, why is it not also needed for the professions such as pharmacy, dentistry and the various branches of engineering? It is as much needed for the one as for the other, and is needed for culture and better citizenship rather than for training specially belonging to the profession. Ministers of the gospel should not be considered as the only professional men who are working for

social progress; but every man following one of the learned professions, by virtue of which he becomes a leader in some walk of life, should have as broad views as possible concerning social progress, in order that he may use his advantage of leadership to the advantage of the whole community. It should be his duty to try to benefit the community. Social progress has come to have such an enlarged meaning that any man following one of the learned professions may be, and ought to be, of great value and service to his fellow-men by using his understanding to aid in making a safe and continued progress.

Again, we may ask, why have the state universities allowed the other universities to set the example, if this training should be required of professional men and women. This question cannot be fully answered in a brief paper, but one or two elements may be briefly considered.

The total number of students enrolled in our state universities has been an ever-present argument before the state legislatures for additional appropriations for the universities, and the professional departments have been a means of pushing this argument and securing legislative division of the appropriation. It is a very unfortunate circumstance that the state universities instead of beginning with a land grant did not begin with a perpetual state mill tax, say three-tenths of a mill. In this way as the state grew the universities could have grown, and its authorities would have been enabled to plan for its progressiveness and greatest usefulness independently of this bugbear of numbers (in the narrow sense); and also we would have been spared the disgrace of the arguments in the legislatures which place the state universities in the category of the insane asylums and prisons, that of receiving state aid according to the number of its inmates of whatever kind.

This fetich of the number of students attending the university considered as a measure of its success has done more harm to the cause of higher education than is commonly supposed. Professors frequently consider ways and means of getting a greater number of students into their departments in order that a good showing may be made to the proper authorities, one that will appeal to them as a reason for better equipment and more instructors. They are sometimes pressed in this direction by the attitude of the board of regents. In one state university the regents required the secretary to furnish them with a list of the names of the professors with a statement of the number of classes of each, together with the number of students in each class. The object of this was to get data for combining departments where possible; to dispose of some departments entirely if only a few students were enrolled in them, and, where neither of these measures was advisable, to put the instructors on a pro rata salary, depending on the number of class exercises and the number of students in each class. One person who was an applicant for a professorship in this university was so imbued with the propriety of the regent's method that he stated to them in his application that he could teach Latin, Greek, French, German, English, history, psychology, physics and geology, and that by "brushing up" a little he thought he could do very good work in chemistry and mineralogy. The leading regent in this movement claimed to be a graduate from one of the very best of our universities, but was a lawyer with political aspirations. Another regent who was imbued with this notion was a minister of the gospel and another was the editor of a leading newspaper. All had been listening to the "curtail expenses" cry of the political party to which they belonged.

If the state universities were to adopt a scheme of

training, requiring seven years, after the high school, I feel sure a cry of woe would be heard throughout the land. This cry would be that professional men and women would be prevented from marrying, too many years after the legally permissible age, and that the expense of preparation would be so great that only the well-to-do could think of entering one of the learned professions. As to the delayed marriage, I will only say that it seems to me that the struggle for luxurious homes and worldly wisdom are doing more to delay and prevent marriage than any restrictions on the professions can do. Increased enjoyment and efficiency in the practice of the profession is a sufficient return for the added expense of preparation. It would be unfortunate if only the well-to-do could enter the professions, but there is abundant evidence in the universities now that such would not be the case.

It should not be permitted that time should stand in the way of thorough preparation if any reasonable way to avoid it can be found. If the child begins at six years of age and takes twelve years to finish the high school and seven years to finish preparation for his profession he will be twenty-five years of age before he can begin the practice of his profession. It is admitted by some of the foremost educators that this time is too long, and it has been proposed to shorten it by taking one year from the time now required to obtain the baccalaureate degree in nearly all colleges. In some universities this is accomplished by permitting the student to begin the study of his chosen profession while he is yet studying for the baccalaureate degree. It has also been suggested that the high school should do the work usually done in the first year, or first two years in college, the graduate of the high school going directly to the professional school, as he does now.

It seems to me that this last suggestion is a good one to consider. There are good reasons for making the high schools more nearly fit boys and girls for the duties of citizenship and society than they do as now carried on. However, to put into them the work usually done in the first two years of college would not do much to improve them for this purpose. The first two years of Greek or of each of the modern languages usually studied in the first years of a college course, or a course in formal logic, would not be of much service toward this end; but two years of the work of history and of political and social science, the first year's work in geology, an introduction to the history of civilization, the elements of Anglo-American law and of international law (without any reference to the profession), and some critical study of English could well be introduced into the high schools.

If this were done as well as it could be done we would no longer have any place for the college. By a careful rearrangement of the work of the schools below it, and of the high school itself, this amount could be added to it without increasing the time now required to complete the work of the high school. The high school could be begun at the beginning of the seventh grade and be six years or even seven years long. If then the high schools were more nearly state schools and less nearly city schools there would be a good general education within the reach of all. To do this well would require more real teaching and much less cramming and reciting of text-books than we have at the present time in most schools. This change would need to be begun by increasing the number of real teachers and decreasing the number of taskmasters. This would mean that the universities should devote much time and attention to the training of professional teachers of a high grade.

I grant that no more work of the kind now found in them could or should be added to the high schools. I am confident that the day of only languages and mathematics for the high schools has passed away never to return. I see no sound reason for the college as a state institution. The student who has completed the suggested high-school course of study should be considered as amply prepared for taking up any of the courses of study offered in the universities, whether it is a course of study leading to the degree of doctor of philosophy, or to one of the professional degrees. In other words, after the course of study for the high schools has been arranged the university courses of study should be made to accommodate themselves to a student with the preparation represented by the completion of the work of the high school.

In conclusion I will recapitulate and suggest some benefits that it seems to me could be derived from the introduction of these changes. It would place a good and sufficient education for the general purposes of citizenship more nearly within the reach of all. It would place the universities upon a higher plane than they now occupy without increasing the time of preparation for admission to or graduation from them. It would force the universities to pay more attention to the professional training of teachers. It would elevate all of the learned professions. It would separate the period of general educational training from that of special investigations and special professional training. It would do away with the baccalaureate degree and the college, or rather the high schools would so nearly take the place of the college that there would be no demand for it unless it was insisted on for those intending to prepare for the ministry and as a fad for the "elite" of the fashionable world. It would do away with the apparently endless discussions concerning the advisa-

bility of a single college degree, which has almost invariably turned to a discussion of whether "A. B." does or does not stand for graduation from a course of study the major part of which is devoted to the study of Latin and Greek. It would lead to an increased value and significance of degrees.

We would then go directly from the high school diploma to the degrees of doctor of philosophy, doctor of medicine and surgery, doctor of laws, perhaps doctor of pedagogy, civil engineer, mechanical engineer, pharmaceutical chemist, and perhaps metallurgical chemist. Our physicians would come to act more in the capacity of advisers and less in that of healers and would impress on the whole community the necessity of sanitary living as a moral obligation upon society. Patent medicines and appliances with cure-all properties would become things of the past. People would learn to recognize the doctrine of the limitations of disease and ascribe to nature much that is commonly supposed to be due to the wonderful knowledge of the physician and the power of drugs. Lawyers would come to act more honorably as legal advisers. They would be a power to purify rather than one to pollute and mystify politics. They would revive statesmanship and practice their profession to the end that there should be a less quantity of, but more efficient, legislation in the state legislatures and in congress, and that justice and protection might be the sole aim of the proceedings in the courts.

Dentists would be doctors of medicine with a specialty instead of "tooth carpenters." Pharmaceutical chemists would take the place of graduates in pharmacy and would be of great service to the people and to the physicians because of their special knowledge of drugs, chemicals, physiological chemistry and toxicology. Metallurgical chemists and engineers of all kinds would

be of great public benefit as advisers concerning the safe and economic development of the mineral and timber resources of the country and the economic and safe employment of their products for the various purposes for which they are suitable. Teachers would come to be regarded as belonging to a profession the fitness for which could not be determined by answering a list of questions submitted by a county or township examiner, to be answered within a period of from four to six hours by writing the answers on paper of a special size and shape. They would also be regarded, as they should be if properly equipped, as persons whose every act is a lesson in right thinking and living and whose general knowledge and knowledge of children, and whose recognition of their responsibilities and necessary deficiencies, make them safe persons to entrust with the development of the child's intellectual and moral self.

The faculties of the state universities would need to be made up from the ablest scholars and artisans to be found, broadly educated men who have developed a special interest in and ability along special lines, and who may be able to add something to the sum of human knowledge by their researches. It would tend to produce professional men and women and scholars with such moral courage and so much power for right thinking and living that the schools and the state universities would so reflect themselves on the public that only the chronic faultfinder would try to contend that the state universities were not of general utility. On the whole, I believe we could look forward to a time when all would recognize that morality born of reason and intelligence is the surest safeguard to a democratic state and her institutions, and that the greatest welfare is to be found in a democratic state thus guarded.

CIVIC AND EDUCATIONAL NOTES

Educational Unification

The prize essay on "The New York State Educational System; its History, its Defects, and the Remedy," by Sara Elizabeth Stewart, is an able statement of the case from the viewpoint of those who advocate consolidation of all the official educational supervision under the board of regents. A determined effort to accomplish this change will be made during this winter's session of the state legislature. Copies of this essay, together with one by Richard Edwin Day, Litt. D., may be had upon application to the Unification Prize Committee, Palmyra, N. Y.

Not Enough Schools Yet

The annual report of the board of education of New York city shows that since February last contracts have been awarded for new schoolhouses and extension of present facilities involving an expense of \$3,107,289. During the last school year eight new school buildings have been opened in Manhattan and the Bronx, providing for 12,000 children; two in Brooklyn, accommodating 3,037, seven in Queens, providing for 1,400, and two in Richmond with space for 1,640, a total of nineteen schoolhouses with accommodations for about 18,000 children. This seems like progress, yet everything is relative. The population of the city is growing so rapidly that at present, it is stated, fully 15,000 children are compelled to accept only half-time instruction, and many others cannot get into the schools at all. Ample authority exists for expenditure of funds sufficient to provide for all the school children of the metropolis. The present trouble dates back to the arbitrary interruption of school construction early in 1898, by the

Tammany administration, when it conjured up the debt-limit spook for the sake of nullifying contracts granted under the previous administration, so that future work might be let out in other quarters.

**The Southern
Industrial
College**

We are pleased to note the founding of another industrial educational institution in the South. The Southern Industrial College, at Camp Hill, Alabama, established in March 1899, is located on a plantation of about five hundred acres, and, in addition to industrial training, offers courses in philosophy and ethics, mathematics, physiology, English, and ancient and modern languages. The industrial department is hardly yet under way, but is planned to give opportunity for pursuit of a variety of trades and occupations intended not merely to help the student through a college course but to give him training for practical life. The work is in charge of Rev. Lyman Ward, and is one of the undertakings of the sort that are needed in the South and contain important possibilities.

**Prize Essay
Competition**

We are requested to announce a prize of one thousand marks, offered by the International Association for Competitive Jurisprudence and Economics (Berlin), for the best work on this subject: "The Legislation in regard to the Accident Liability of Railroads in the most Important Countries of Europe: its History and Economic Significance." Essays must be written in German, French or English, and submitted before April 1st, 1901, to the First Secretary of the Association, Dr. Kronecker, at Berlin. The essays should not be signed with the name of the author, but marked with an inscription and accompanied by a sealed envelope bearing the same inscription and containing the name and

address of the author. The request for publication of this notice in American economic journals comes to us through Bowdoin College.

**Economic
Instruction
in Schools**

Just one year ago, in an article on the "Teaching of Economics in Schools," we took the somewhat advanced ground that the next important step in public school education must be the gradual adoption of definite instruction in social-economic science. Comments upon that article revealed the fact that this need is felt and recognized to an hitherto unsuspected extent. How rapidly the idea is coming to the front, however, is indicated by the fact that one entire division of the "Congress for the Teaching of Social Sciences," to be held at the Paris Exposition this summer, will be devoted to just this subject. That is to say, of the three sub-divisions of the congress, the second will be devoted to "Secondary and Higher Primary Teaching: present situation in the different countries; progress to be made; the place to be taken in such teaching by instruction on the economical organization of societies." To this congress specialists and teachers from all over the world are invited, and it will continue five days, beginning July 30th.

It is to be hoped that we are on the eve of an important and far-reaching reform in that branch of our educational system which reaches 95 per cent. of the school children who are to be the future citizens of the republic.

**Who Support
the Seats of
the Mighty**

From recent press reports we extract two edifying items:

One day, shortly before Mr. Croker sailed for Europe, Mr. John C. Sheehan, a former grand sachem of Tammany Hall and recently Mr. Croker's successful rival in a local district fight, en-

countered the chief in the halls of the Democratic Club. Croker, evidently disposed to be conciliatory, exclaims: "I recognize you as the leader of the ninth district, and as the head of the Tammany organization there." Whereto Sheehan responds: "Then reinstate —— and —— in their places in the county clerk's office." Promptly the boss replies: "Certainly, the men shall be put back." Just where the county clerk himself comes in on this is of minor importance.

The other incident occurred a few days later, also in New York. Mr. Nixon, speaker of the state assembly last winter and presumably a candidate for re-election, came to town. Being interviewed concerning the office to which he has not yet been elected, nor even nominated, he declared, with excessive modesty: "I can make no announcements to-day except that, as everybody knows, Jotham P. Allds, of Chenango, will be chairman of the committee on ways and means, and leader of the republicans in the assembly. I will see Senator Platt later to-day and the whole thing will be gone over."

Well! Well! Of all impudent, brazen travesties on democracy, etc., etc.? Not at all. Both occurrences are entirely democratic, because they are in accordance with the will of the people. Either it is the express will or negative permission through indifference. No man who scorns participation in politics has the slightest right to utter a word of complaint.

THE OPEN FORUM

This department belongs to our readers, and offers them full opportunity to "talk back" to the editor, give information, discuss topics or ask questions on subjects within the field covered by GUNTON'S MAGAZINE. All communications, whether letters for publication or inquiries for the "Question Box," must be accompanied by the full name and address of the writer. This is not required for publication, if the writer objects, but as evidence of good faith. Anonymous correspondents are ignored.

LETTERS FROM CORRESPONDENTS

The "Liberty" of Savages

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—In your recent popular lecture on "Liberty and License," which appeared in the *Lecture Bulletin* of your Economic Institute, you speak of order being the mother of liberty, and not the daughter of liberty. In supporting this you refer to savage life as a type of complete anarchy, the only law being the will of the individual and his ability to prevent some other savage from interfering with him. Under this condition you endeavored to show that there was the least real freedom, because the savage could rely on no cooperation for his self-defense, but had to look out entirely for himself. But is it not a fact, as Lubbock and other investigators have pointed out, that no savage is free from law? The common idea that such is the case is a delusion. In practically every tribe the savage is hemmed in with a multitude of arbitrary rules and customs, some being of the most frivolous character, and the penalty for violation frequently death. It seems to me, therefore, that the savage's lack of freedom is due to these causes, and if we could find a condition where they were free from arbitrary restrictions perhaps we

would find that there they really did enjoy the most complete personal liberty. At any rate, I cannot see that we are justified in saying that savages, not bound by any laws or regulations, are the least free of all men, when, in fact, we have never been able to find a place where such freedom from laws and regulations actually exists. H. C. D——.

[Such regulations and restrictions as do exist simply show that even in savagery some attempt at orderly control is indispensable to protect the crudest elements of individual freedom and safety.—ED.]

Freedom of Economic Teaching

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—In the December, 1899, number of your magazine, in an article entitled "Free Thought in College Economics," it seems to me that you have not clearly distinguished between teaching a doctrine as a "hobby" and discussing it as a subject related to others supposed to be of like kind. You admit that new views will arise but seem to convey the idea that the professor should not discuss them with his classes until they are accepted by the general public. How are we to judge of the general acceptance of the doctrine? How did the state universities know when it was time to introduce departments of homeopathy, for example?

While it is true that we are still to a considerable extent devotees of hero worship, yet I am inclined to believe that the class of students that attend our colleges and universities are on the whole amenable to the use of their reasoning faculties and, therefore, not likely to be completely carried away by the discussion of a new doctrine like the single tax, socialism, or the free coinage of cheap silver dollars. If these subjects will not stand the light of honest investigation why are we so concerned about them? A professor of political

economy who would not touch on these subjects to-day would, in my opinion, be derelict in his duty, and yet I am not an advocate of any one of the three. The difficulty seems to me to be rather that of the havoc to be made by a long-time struggle with these questions than a fear of the ultimate outcome.

You also write "But on what theory of society, or education, or science should the teaching of the new views of a professor be put beyond the authority of the governing body? On what theory, in short, should the professor become a law unto himself regarding the doctrine he shall teach in public institutions?" It seems to me that quite as pertinent questions are: On what theory of society, or education, or science should the views of the professor be restricted by the authority of the governing body? On what theory in short, should the professor become the slave of the governing body regarding the doctrine he shall teach? There have been cases where the governing body of state universities dismissed professors who were in accord with the doctrine of the majority of the people of the state in order that some one might be employed who would promulgate the doctrines supposed to be useful to a majority of the members of the governing body.

In the state universities, and elsewhere for that matter, the dogmatic promulgation of any doctrine should be discouraged, but it seems to me that freedom of thought is quite another thing.

W. F. EDWARDS, Orchard Lake, Mich.

[Our contention was not at all, as Mr. Edwards supposes, that mooted questions should not be discussed in college class-rooms, but simply that the professor cannot properly demand the right to champion and become a special pleader for new and unaccepted doctrines disapproved by the governing body of the institution.—
ED.]

QUESTION BOX

The Rise in Oil Prices

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—I notice in your editorial discussions that, while you continue to speak of real prosperity as dependent on high wages and low prices, you still refer to the present condition of partly high wages and very high prices as one of extraordinary prosperity. I have been looking for some article that would explain the reason of the very high prices prevailing at the present time, a good part of which it seems probable is due only partly to increased cost of doing business, and the rest being extra profit exacted by the capitalists on the strength of the general boom all along the line,—a sort of gigantic “bluff game.” The worst case of all seems to be that of refined petroleum, which has gone up over three cents a gallon in the last two years, although there is no shortage of supply and the only material increase in cost is that of the crude oil, which does not come anywhere near equaling the rise in refined. Is not the Standard Oil Company simply taking advantage of the situation to increase its profit margin to the utmost limit while the boom lasts?

G. F. P., Philadelphia, Pa.

This is a fair sample of the questions that are constantly being raised, frequently taking the form of positive statements. Over all the country the rise in prices of articles produced by large corporations, which people love to call “trusts,” is sweepingly charged to the arbitrary action of the “trust” to increase its profit. Of course, one is not surprised to see the sensational penny papers deal in this sort of thing, and not much astonished even to find it used by a certain class of

political speakers, who hope to make the anti-trust issue the means of obtaining office, but a great many people who affect serious discussion of the subject adopt substantially the same method. For instance, in the June number of the *Review of Reviews*, Mr. Byron W. Holt had a most formidable presentation of the subject. He gave a list of 140 so-called "trusts," with an elaborate statement of the amount of stock, common and preferred, date of organization, etc., all of which has a seeming of thoroughness. In analyzing the price of petroleum, for example, he puts in one column the price of the crude, for a series of years, in another the price of the refined, and in a third the difference, which is supposed to represent the cost of refining and the profit. If the difference between the cost of the crude and the price of the refined falls, as it did over 13 cents a gallon from 1870 to 1897, it is properly attributed to the reduced cost of production, but if for any reason this difference increases, as in 1898-99, it is promptly charged to the increase of the profits of the "trust." He does the same thing with sugar, tin and other industries. On the assumption that he has conclusively shown that this rise is all profit pocketed by the "trust," he proceeds to exclaim how the "trusts" are robbing the people. This method of reasoning is as false as its seeming is plausible. It takes into account none of the elements that make up the cost of production, except the raw material.

We investigated the case of tin plate, and gave the result in our issue of May 1899. In that case the facts conclusively showed that the rise in the price of the raw materials and in the wages up to that date was equal to the rise in the price of the product, and that in reality, although the tin-plate industry had been reorganized into a large concern embracing three-fourths of the entire output of the country, the increased price did not

represent any addition to the profit of the so-called "trust." Whatever increased profits, if any, had been secured, were due to economics of the new management.

Now, as to refined petroleum. It is true as our correspondent says that refined petroleum "has gone up over three cents a gallon in the last two years." Since July, 1897, the prices of crude and refined petroleum per gallon, in barrels, in the New York market have been as follows:

<i>Year.</i>	<i>Crude.</i>	<i>Refined.</i>	<i>Difference.</i>
July, 1897	1.90 cts.	6.00 cts.	4.10 cts.
January, 1898.	1.55 "	5.40 "	3.85 "
October 5, 1898	2.55 "	6.85 "	4.30 "
January 4, 1899	2.83 "	7.50 "	4.67 "
July 26, 1899	3.00 "	7.70 "	4.70 "
September 27, 1899	3.57 "	8.95 "	5.38 "
October 25, 1899	3.66 "	8.95 "	5.29 "
December 1, 1899	3.88 "	9.65 "	5.77 "

It will be seen from this table that since July, 1897, the price of crude petroleum has risen 1.98 cents per gallon and the price of refined has risen 3.65 cents per gallon. In other words, the rise in the price of refined oil from July 1897 to December 1st 1899 was 1.67 cents per gallon more than the rise in the price of crude oil during the same period. According to the popular method adopted by Mr. Holt and others we should assume that this 1.67 cents is simply added to the profits of the "trust." Hence the hubbub. But this is not at all true. During this same period the cost of everything which enters into the manufacture and distribution of refined petroleum has also risen, all of which is ignored in this method of treatment. For instance, the cost of manufacturing barrels has increased 41 cents per barrel, or about .98 of a cent on each gallon. During this period freights have risen 10 cents a barrel in some parts of the country and as much as 20 cents

in others, or an average of about 15 cents a barrel, or about .36 of a cent per gallon. The price of all the chemicals used in refining has also risen in many instances over 100 per cent, and, as in every other industry, wages have also risen. The exact amount of these last items of increase we have only been able to ascertain approximately, but the marketing expense of distributing oil from June 1898 to June 1899 was increased .12 of a cent a gallon, and it has been further increased during the last five months. If we allow .05 of a cent a gallon for the increase in the cost of chemicals and .15 of a cent for the rise of wages, which is a very moderate estimate, the case will stand as follows:

Increase in the cost of crude oil per gallon						1.98 cents
"	"	"	barrels	"	"	.98 cents
"	"	"	freight	"	"	.36 "
"	"	"	marketing	"	"	.12 "
"	"	"	chemicals	"	"	.05 "
"	"	"	labor	"	"	.15 "
Total increase of costs						<u>3.64 "</u>

Thus, while it is true that the price of refined oil has risen 3.65 cents a gallon from July 1897 to December 1st, 1899, the cost of crude oil and other expenses connected with refining and marketing have risen 3.64 cents a gallon, so that the rise in the price to the public during this period is only .01 of a cent a gallon more than the known increase in the cost of production. In other words, the increase of 3.65 cents a gallon in the finished product represents no increase in the profits, but only increase in the various items in the cost of production, part of which is the labor cost in all the various phases of the industry.

It is not claimed that these items of cost are exact for December 1st, as some of them only come down to June, and the prices of all the raw materials used in oil

refining have continued to advance and yet show no signs of a halt. But the general fact is quite clear that the movement of the market price of the refined product keeps substantially with the movement of the costs of production.

Is England's Cause Just ?

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—In your review of Hillegas's "Oom Paul's People," in the December MAGAZINE, I find the following expression: "The English government does not demand and never has demanded the franchise for any except those who are willing to renounce their British allegiance and become citizens of the South African Republic."

As a matter of fact, is it not true that the only difference of moment remaining unsettled between the two governments at their recent Bloemfontein conference existed in certain features of the form of the oath of naturalization prescribed by the law of the South African Republic? Two forms of oath have been mentioned as having been under consideration; an ambiguous one with a loop-hole left for the claim of England's imperishable title to perpetual vassalage, and one of the so-called iron-clad form, which absolutely puts an end to that claim. England has a fundamental principle that no defeat in war has ever made or ever will make it yield, which is: "Once an Englishman, always an Englishman." At the conclusion of peace with the United States in the war of 1812 upon that issue, neither Mr. Gallatin nor Emperor Alexander I. nor any one else pleading the cause of America could make England budge on that point, left pending for all future occasions. It has been asserted again and again against the Dutch settlers, considering themselves free and independent on free soil, English documentary

grants of independence notwithstanding. As the duty of protection of English citizens' rights is the professed cause and purpose of England's arming and going into war, this cause and purpose would fail with the failing of citizenship. Emancipating the Transvaal, it would disrobe England of the disguise of championship for liberty and progress and expose her in the position of a conqueror for spoil and promoter of monopolistic despotism.

F. B., Wilkesbarre, Pa

It is true that certain groups of the so-called "Uitlanders" have at different times urged a claim to the right of franchise without entirely surrendering their allegiance to England. Our statement, however, was that the British government has not made and does not make any such absurd demand. So far as we can discover, this is correct. The case on this point is well stated by Mr. Sydney Brooks in the *North American Review* for July, as follows:

"A section of the excluded settlers has started a theory, based on Great Britain's suzerainty, that the taking of the oath of allegiance to the Transvaal does not involve the surrender of British citizenship. If the contention were sound, President Kruger would be well within his rights in refusing the franchise to all such hybrid citizens. But the argument will not hold water for a moment. Mr. Chamberlain and all the best legal authorities in England have condemned and disowned it. A British subject on swearing the oath of allegiance to the South African Republic, or any other state, forfeits at once his rights of British citizenship, and becomes, suzerainty or no suzerainty, a foreigner. It is a pity a contrary plea was ever urged. It has only served to misrepresent the intentions of the average Uitlanders."

Elsewhere, describing the causes of complaint on the part of the alien residents, he says:

"At present no immigrant can vote for the First Volksraad unless he has passed the age of forty and lived for at least fourteen years in the country, after taking the oath and being placed on the government lists, lists on which, according to Mr. Bryce, the local authorities are nowise careful to place him. Even the niggardly reforms proposed by the President at the end of last May were negatived by the burghers. Practically, the Uitlanders are disenfranchised. In every other state,

Dutch and English stand on the same equality. In the Transvaal, the English are treated like Kafirs. They have not only taxation without representation, but taxation without police, without sanitation, without schools, without justice, without freedom of the press, without liberty of association. Johannesburg is ill-paved, ill-lighted and abominably deficient in drainage and water-supply, because it is English. The courts of law have been prostituted to the whims of the Legislature, in defiance of the written Constitution of the Republic, that thereby the English might be deprived of their one legal remedy against injustice. Education, except in the Boer *taal*, is forbidden above the third standard, in the hope of forcing the English to unlearn their native tongue. And these indignities are put upon the men who are the source of all the country's prosperity, and its saviours from internal dissolution."

In your reference to the expression "Once an Englishman, always an Englishman," you erect into a serious national policy what in reality is nothing more than a sentiment which neither England nor any other civilized nation is so idiotic as to attempt to-day to enforce. It is true the question was not settled in so many words at the treaty of Ghent, in 1814, but, instead of being left open for all future occasions as you say, the claim in reality was practically dropped by England, never to be revived. Do you suppose, for instance, that England to-day either actually or theoretically imagines that she holds any right of sovereignty over former English citizens who have taken the oath of allegiance to the United States? Any such notion is ridiculous absurdity. England's claim of a remote suzerainty over the Transvaal dates back to a long series of controversies over the status of the Boer settlers who left the British province of Cape Colony in 1835 for another part of South Africa. However, the only suzerainty now asserted is the right of supervising foreign treaties. The present war does not grow out of any attempt to abolish the Boer republic, but simply to obtain for Englishmen living there the right to become citizens of the Transvaal under reasonable conditions, and thus to have something to say concerning the political control of their property and persons.

Of course, it is not to be pretended that England has been wholly without fault in this matter. It is quite likely that lack of tact and judgment on Mr. Chamberlain's part had much to do with hastening President Kruger's ultimatum of October 10th, while certain extreme demands of the Uitlanders of course have been unjustifiable. Probably the contest could not have been avoided sooner or later, however, because it was clearly the disposition of the Boers to temporize and ward off any concessions which would really grant any important right of participation in the government. There is an heroic aspect to the Boers' case which cannot fail to arouse a certain sentiment of sympathy and admiration, but now that the struggle is launched the broad interests of civilization clearly lie with the success of the British cause. This is far more general in its application than the mere settlement of the Transvaal dispute. The result of the contest will determine whether or not the tremendous advance on barbarism that English industrial energy has been making in South Africa is to continue or not, and, if not, the loss of prestige may seriously weaken England's position in India and her demand for an open door for western civilization throughout the Orient. It is not a case, therefore, for sentimental sympathy with the bravery of a stubborn, undemocratic oligarchy, but really involves to a serious extent the larger interests of civilization throughout Africa and Asia.

BOOK REVIEWS

THE MEANING OF EDUCATION. By Nicholas Murray Butler, Professor of Political Philosophy and Education in Columbia University. Cloth, 230 pp., \$1.00. The Macmillan Company, New York and London.

John Fiske said that Comte had the historic sense. It may truly be said of Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler that he has the educational sense. Not merely scholarship and educational enthusiasm, not merely scientific method, nor even the spirit of educational propaganda, but something that is more significant than any of these is educational sense. It is the power of insight, the capacity of sensing the direction and significance of the moving forces below and behind the observable environment which makes for the molding of social character. Although Nicholas Murray Butler is a young man he is really the leading educator in the United States. Not that he has no peers in erudition and oratory and the gift of imparting what he knows, though in this he has few superiors, but his preeminence consists in his philosophic range and penetration into the depth and scope of the educational function.

It is the habit of educators not merely to specialize but to segregate studies, so as to separate scholarship and culture from the moving forces and panting pulsations of human life in the great social aggregate. They treat education as an exclusive training for a limited sphere, rather than as a democratic social fact. They occupy a position in education similar to that represented in the old economics by Mill's "economic man,"—a man who ate and slept to supply the maximum productive muscle at the minimum cost. With the industrial development of the last fifty years economic thought has been greatly modified and modernized. It

has gradually broadened out to include much more than the mere muscle-furnishing man. It has discovered that human muscle is the dearest of all productive instruments, and that the truly economic man, the man who can furnish the world the greatest amount and variety of civilization at the least cost, is not the simple muscle-furnishing man but the complex, broadened, ethical, social man. This is because the social man, the man with the maximum variety of tastes and ambitions, with the broadest cultivation, the strongest character, furnishes at once a double force, one by multiplying the demand for economic products, and the other the invention, enterprise and ingenuity to apply science so as to harness natural forces to production and thus make nature yield many hundred times as much as the most competent socially simple and merely muscular man could ever furnish.

In other words, political economy has been expanded into social economics, which recognizes and relies upon the development of the social and ethical forces of society as the great economic propellers of human progress. It recognizes, in other words, that the great advance in civilization, not the least of which is the increasing economy and efficiency of productive forces, comes not through maximizing the productive use of human muscle—the economic man—but by accelerating the sociological forces which operate in the development, elevation and refinement of all the phases of social character. That is, the real forces in economic progress lie in the domain of psychological activity and sociological expansion.

Dr. Butler represents the movement which is to substitute the sociological man for the "economic man" in education. To him education is not merely an individual but a social affair. It is not merely the cultivator and polisher of persons but the broad, virile

force which shall vitalize the great social aggregate, which shall not merely give refinement to small groups of individuals but which shall induce moral stamina, social strength, political integrity and high national ideas throughout the community. Dr. Butler is in a sense the prophet of the new education which looks for human improvement through the working of sociological forces rather than by the technical cramming which leads to social exclusiveness. In short, he represents the democracy of education which reaches out to the industrial, social and political life of the nation as the surest way of promoting the permanent progress of freedom-creating civilization. This is a new and really advanced phase of educational progress, and it is the phase most emphasized and most clearly presented in the present work.

Almost all of Dr. Butler's recent utterances have had a strong flavor of this democratic and truly philosophical aspect of education, but this little book stands out as a beacon light to the marching educational army. It sounds a note of a higher goal, of a broader usefulness and deeper philosophy of education. It sounds a note of optimism, courage and confidence, and an educational humaneness which is at once cheering and inspiring. It makes education both philosophical and humane, by making it the universal handmaid of democracy in social progress. On this we cannot do better than let Dr. Butler speak for himself:

“But most striking and impressive of all movements of the century is the political development toward the form of government known as democracy. Steadily and doggedly throughout the ten decades the movement toward democracy has gone its conquering way. When the century opened democracy was a chimera. It had been attempted in Greece and Rome and again in the middle ages; and the reflecting por-

tion of mankind believed it to be a failure. Whatever its possibilities in a small and homogeneous community, it was felt to be wholly inapplicable to large states. The contention that government could be carried on by what Mill called collective mediocrity rather than by the intelligent few, was felt to be preposterous. . . .

“So significant has this phenomena of democracy become, so widespread is its influence, and so dominating are its ideals, that we have rightly begun to study it both with the impartial eye of the historian and by the analytic method of the scientist. The literature of democracy for the past half century is extremely important; and Tocqueville, Bagehot, Scherer, Carlyle, Maine, Bryce, and Lecky are but a few of the great names that have contributed to it. Through all the pages of these writers runs an expression of the conviction that the stream of tendency toward democracy can neither be turned back nor permanently checked. Some of these students of democracy are its enthusiastic advocates, others are its hostile critics; all alike seem to resign themselves to it. . . .

“Democracy is, as I have said, a movement so novel and so sweeping, that we have not yet had time to compare it closely, in all its phases, with monarchy and oligarchy. The advantages of these forms of political organization were manifest when society was young and man's institutional life yet undeveloped. As time went on, the weaknesses of such forms of government became apparent. The plunge into democracy was made, and we have usually gone no further than to contrast its blessings with what we know of the oppression and iniquity that resulted from kingship and oligarchy in the early modern period. We must, however, go further than this, and gain a truer and deeper insight into the institutional life of which we are a part.

“It is just here that we find evidence of the close

relations that exist between democracy and education. So long as the direction of man's institutional life was in the hands of one or the few, the need for a wide diffusion of political intelligence was not strongly felt. The divine right of kings found its correlative in the diabolical ignorance of the masses. There was no educational ideal, resting upon a social and political necessity, that was broad enough to include the whole people. But the rapid widening of the basis of sovereignty has changed all that. . . .

“It was not by accident that the Greek philosophers made their contributions to educational theory in treatises on the nature and functions of the state. Both Plato and Aristotle had a deep insight into the meaning of man's social and institutional life. To live together with one's fellows in a community involves fitness so to live. This fitness, in turn, implies discipline, instruction, training; that is, education. The highest type of individual life is found in community life. Ethics passes into or includes politics, and the education of the individual is education for the state. The educated Greek at the height of his country's development was taught to regard participation in the public service alike as a duty and a privilege. The well-being of the community was constantly before him as an ideal of personal conduct. To depart from that point of view is to entail the gravest consequences. That a large proportion of our people, and among their number some of the most highly trained, have departed from it, needs no proof.

“Failure to understand the political life of a democratic state and failure to participate fully in it, lead directly to false views of the state and its relations to the individual citizen. Instead of being regarded as the sum total of the citizens who compose it, the state is, in thought at least, then regarded as an artificial

creation, the plaything of so-called politicians and wire-pullers. This view, that the individual and the state are somehow independent each of the other, is not without support in modern political philosophy, but it is a crude and superficial view. It gives rise to those fallacies that regard the state either as a tyrant to be resisted or as a benefactor to be courted. No democracy can endure permanently on either basis. The state is the completion of the life of the individual, and without it he would not wholly live. To inculcate that doctrine should be an aim of all education in a democracy. To live up to it should be the ideal of the nation's educated men.

“Impossible in theory as the separation of the state from the individuals who compose it seems, yet in practice it is found to exist. This is true in the United States, and in some localities more than others. Our constitutional system, elaborately adjusted so that each individual's choice may count in the ascertainment of the common will, now shelters a system of party organization and of political practice, undreamt of by the fathers, that effectually reduces our theoretical democracy to an oligarchy, and that oligarchy by no means an aristocracy. With here and there an exception, the educated men of the country hold themselves aloof—or are held aloof—from participation in what is called practical politics. That field of activity which attract the highest intelligence of the nation too often repels it. . . . If education and training unfit men for political life, then there is something wrong either with our political life or with our education.

“The teachers of the country should address themselves to this question with determination and zeal. Instruction in civil government is good; the inculcation of patriotism is good; the flag upon the school-house is good. But all these devices lie upon the sur-

face. The real question involved is ethical. It reaches deep down to the very foundations of morality. It is illuminated by history.

“The public education of a great democratic people has other aims to fulfil than the extension of scientific knowledge or the development of literary culture. It must prepare for intelligent citizenship. More than a century ago Burke wrote that ‘the generality of people are fifty years, at least, behindhand in their politics. There are but very few who are capable of comparing and digesting what passes before their eyes at different times and occasions, so as to form the whole into a distinct system.’ This is the warning of one of the greatest of publicists that a thoroughly instructed and competent public opinion on political matters is difficult to attain. Yet, unless we are to surrender the very principle on which democracy rests, we must struggle to attain it. Something may be accomplished by precept, something by direct instruction, much by example. The words ‘politics’ and ‘politician’ must be rescued from the low esteem into which they have fallen, and restored to their ancient and honorable meaning. It is safe to say that the framers of our constitution never foresaw that the time would come when thousands of intelligent men and women would regard ‘politics’ as beneath them, and when a cynical unwillingness to participate in the choice of persons and policies would develop among the people. . . .

“The difficulties of democracy are the opportunities of education. If our education be sound, if it lay due emphasis on individual responsibility for social and political progress, if it counteract the anarchistic tendencies that grow out of selfishness and greed, if it promote a patriotism that reaches farther than militant jingoism and gunboats, then we may cease to have any doubts as to the perpetuity and integrity of our institu-

tions. But I am profoundly convinced that the greatest educational need of our time, in higher and lower schools alike, is a fuller appreciation on the part of the teachers of what human institutions really mean and what tremendous moral issues and principles they involve. The ethics of individual life must be traced to its roots in the ethics of the social whole. The family, property, the common law, the state and the church, are all involved. These, and their products, taken together, constitute civilization and mark it off from barbarism. Inheritor of a glorious past, each generation is a trustee for posterity. To preserve, protect, and transmit its inheritance unimpaired, is its highest duty. To accomplish this is not the task of the few, but the duty of all.

“That democracy alone will be triumphant which has both intelligence and character. To develop them among the whole people is the task of education in a democracy. Not, then, by vainglorious boasting, not by self-satisfied indifference, not by selfish and indolent withdrawal from participation in the interests and government of the community, but rather by the enthusiasm, born of intense conviction, that finds the happiness of each in the good of all, will our educational ideals be satisfied and our free government be placed beyond the reach of the forces of dissolution and decay.”

LIBERTY IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. By Frederick May Holland. 243 pp., gilt tops; with appendix. \$1.75. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York and London.

As a literary production this book is buoyant, interesting, and even attractive. It is really a review of the progress of freedom, politically, socially, and very largely religiously, during the nineteenth century. The appendix consists of a chronological list of important

events which have occurred during the period covered; the first, which represents the year 1776, is the Declaration of Independence, and the last, which represents the year 1899, is the death of Robert G. Ingersoll. It touches, fleetingly, to be sure, and yet often significantly and interestingly upon almost all public movements of the century from the defeat of Napoleon at Waterloo to woman's suffrage. In reviewing the movement of liberalism, "Platform *versus* Pulpit," it mentions nearly all the prominent persons in this country and England who took part in the unorthodox movement, *The Liberator*, *The Investigator*, Emerson, Theodore Parker, Anna Dickinson, the Salvation Army, Spiritualists, Quakers, Unitarians and Universalists, John Stuart Mill and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Bradlaugh and Holyoake, Mrs. Besant, Underwood and Ingersoll; and of course Darwin, Huxley, Spencer and Haeckel all come in for appropriate mention in the movement. Mr. Holland's book is a well-written rapid review of the century from the viewpoint of liberalism. As such it is both interesting and instructive, and well worth reading.

THE ELEMENTS OF SOCIOLOGY. A Text Book for Colleges and Schools. By Franklin Henry Giddings, M. A., Ph. D., Professor of Sociology in Columbia University, New York. Cloth, 353 pp. \$1.10. The Macmillan Company, New York.

Unlike many writers on sociology, Professor Giddings has a broad background of economics. This in many respects gives him a great advantage over those who discuss sociology deductively. Perhaps this has much to do with the very excellent work Professor Giddings is doing in this comparatively new sphere of sociological work. He sees society from the economic aspect and recognizes the economic importance of social

forces. It too frequently happens that economists fail to give due weight to the operation of sociological phenomena in producing economic results, and abstract sociologists fail adequately to consider the ethical and social significance of purely economic forces. Professor Giddings brings to the subject of sociology the knowledge of the economist and to economics at least the point of view of the sociologist. The present book is mainly an abbreviation of his larger work, "The Principles of Sociology," adapting it to class-room work in high schools and colleges, and as such it comes the nearest being a success of anything we have yet seen. It is not an easy task to make so all-embracing and complex a subject as sociology simple enough for the college student not merely to comprehend but to be interested in. For, after all, the text-book to be successful should be interesting, which few text-books are.

The only criticism to be made on Professor Giddings' book is that it is published without an index, which is unpardonable at this day and age.

A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK. By Charles B. Todd, author of "The Story of the City of New York," etc. Cloth, 299 pp. 75 cents. American Book Company, New York, Cincinnati and Chicago.

Intended chiefly for class-room work with young pupils, this small volume may well be interesting, as the author suggests, to many of that numerous class "who have but little time for reading, and to whom the larger histories are sealed books." It has the supreme attraction of telling what it has to say in a thoroughly interesting way, while at the same time conveying clearly the main points of the historical record it purports to give.

It describes in a continuous narrative the familiar outlines of the history of New York city, beginning

with the Dutch period, describing at some length Dutch manners and customs, then passing to the English colonial period, down to the American revolution, the military operations in and about New York during the revolution, the brief period in which New York was the capital of the nation, the part played in the city's history by men of the largest influence in the molding of our institutions (including our greatest practical political philosopher, Alexander Hamilton), the vast commercial expansion of the city, its connection with the Erie Canal enterprise, the beginnings of steam navigation and of steam railroads, its history during the civil war, the subsequent progress, and finally the union of most of the populations in and about Manhattan Island into the greater city of between three and four million inhabitants. One can scarcely turn the pages of this little book without realizing how deeply involved all the way along the progress of New York has been with the broader evolution of the nation, and that politically as well as industrially. In fact, one of the chief merits of Mr. Todd's book is that it seems well calculated to inspire the student with that just sense of local pride which is one of the great foundation stones of effective civic spirit.

FRANCE AND ITALY. By Imbert de Saint-Amand. Translated by Elizabeth Gilbert Martin. Cloth, 352 pp. \$1.50. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.

The writer has the imaginative, somewhat exclamatory style characteristic of most French literature, and is evidently an admirer of the second Napoleon. He protests against estimating the success of the second empire wholly by the events of 1870, to the utter forgetting of the Crimean war and the brief and glorious struggle with Austria in behalf of Italian independence, in 1859. "We dwell too much on Sedan and Metz,"

he says, "not long enough on Sebastopol, Magenta and Solferino. What would be said of the heirs of the first empire if they insisted on talking of nothing but Leipzig and Waterloo?"

Even with this predisposition in favor of "Napoleon the Little," however, the author seems unable to find any more genuine motive behind Louis Napoleon's war of 1859 than personal vanity and a desire to pose as a military hero worthy to occupy the throne of his famous uncle. Commenced with a great flourish of protestations about his disinterested zeal for Italian freedom, it was terminated quite as suddenly, with the object of the war only half accomplished, as soon as matters began to look like an European coalition against him, involving the probable loss of his own crown. When did the first Napoleon ever turn back for fear of European coalitions against him! Indeed, his long military career was a succession of single-handed triumphs over most, and frequently all, of the nations of Europe in alliance.

The author has made a very interesting book, however. It relates in dramatic fashion the rapidly moving events of 1859, which saw the Franco-Austrian war brought on by the clever manipulations of Napoleon himself, the brilliant campaign in Italy, the sudden conclusion of peace with Francis Joseph, including the cession of Lombardy to France and by France to Victor Emmanuel as King of Sardinia and Piedmont, who thus became ruler of the larger part of northern Italy, and later, by a sort of natural gravitation toward him, was enabled to extend his sphere over several of the remaining dukedoms and former Austrian dependencies of central Italy. It must be said that the author's description of the six great battles that decided the Italian campaign,—Montebello, Palestro, Turbigo, Magenta, Melegnano and Solferino,—would seem more appro-

priate if done into phonograph records for use in popular concerts during war times, than put forth as part of a serious historical record. They consist mostly of pyrotechnics, drums, fifes, flags, breathless messengers, promotions on the spot, shouts of victory, the thrills of the conqueror alone in his tent, and the gruesome look of the battlefield when the sun rises next morning. One of these descriptions will do for the whole campaign, so far as giving the reader any clear idea of the military maneuvers and generalship that determined the result in any particular case is concerned.

The account of the conferences by which peace was brought about, however, is considerably better. At this point Napoleon III. certainly demonstrated his cleverness as a sharp political maneuverer, whatever his real military prowess. Although successful in the immediate campaign, he saw that one more victory would bring Prussia promptly to the support of Francis Joseph, while neither England nor Russia could be counted upon to help out France. Almost wishing he had never undertaken his risky experiment, he contrived nevertheless to make his exit from the situation look like a spectacular triumph. He made all arrangements for another great battle, including a naval attack on Venice, and, at the very moment when his officers were waiting for the word to attack, was dispatching couriers to Francis Joseph with suggestions for an armistice. This being accepted, although on conditions that left Venice still in the hands of Austria and compromised on an impossible Italian confederation with the Pope as honorary president, Napoleon returned to France, getting a great popular ovation, and thereafter made peace and allowed the situation in Italy to unravel itself as best it might.

It is interesting to note, in the course of the clever manipulation of public opinion that Napoleon employed

prior to the war, and in his diplomatic efforts to reconcile Europe to the policy he was about to adopt, how he was led to endorse and encourage some of the very things that afterward proved his own ruin. Perhaps the most striking instance of this sort is the article that appeared in the *Moniteur*, the official imperial organ, on April 10, 1859, discussing the subject of the impending German federation. In his effort to cement German friendship, Napoleon caused the *Moniteur* to say: "To represent France as hostile to the German nationality is not, therefore, an error, but a misapprehension. The example of a national Germany which should reconcile its federated organizations with the unitary tendencies the principle of which has already been laid down in the great commercial union of the *Zollverein* would not alarm us. All that develops in neighboring countries the relations created by commerce, industry, and progress is profitable to civilization, and all that increases civilization elevates France."

As M. de Saint-Amand says: "Such was the doctrine of which Napoleon III. was to be the apostle and the martyr. . . . Was not the German unity to which he looked forward so complacently to be the cause of his final disaster and the ruin of his dynasty?"

NEW BOOKS OF INTEREST

ECONOMIC, SOCIOLOGICAL AND POLITICAL

Science of Statistics, Part II. Statistics and Economics. By Richmond Mayo-Smith, Ph.D., Columbia University. Cloth, gilt top, 8vo, 467 pp. \$3.00 net. The Macmillan Company, New York and London.

Tropical Colonization; an Introduction to a Study of the Question. By Alleyne Ireland. Cloth 8vo. With ten statistic charts. The Macmillan Company, New

York and London. This book represents ten years' special study in personal investigation of colonization in the tropics, British, French and Dutch.

The Distribution of Wealth. By John B. Clark, Professor of Political Economy, Columbia University. Cloth, 12mo. The Macmillan Company, New York and London. In this book Professor Clark endeavors to point out the effectiveness of natural economic laws in controlling the division of the products of industry among the various factors that contribute to its creation.

The Wheat Problem. By Sir William Crookes. With monograph on the American Wheat Supply, by Hon. John Hyde. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York.

DESCRIPTIVE

Imperial India. By G. W. Steevens, author of "With Kitchener to Khartum." Cloth, 12mo. \$1.50. Dodd, Mead & Company, New York.

HISTORICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL

Select Charters and Other Documents Illustrative of American History, 1606-1775. Edited with notes by W. C. MacDonald, Professor of History and Political Science in Bowdoin College. Cloth. Crown 8vo. The Macmillan Company, New York and London. This is a collection of the principal legal and constitutional documents during the colonial era of our history. It forms a companion volume to the selected documents illustrative of the history of the United States, 1776-1861, edited by the same author.

A History of the People of the Netherlands. By Petrus Johannes Blok, Ph. D., University of Leyden. Translated by Oscar A. Bierstadt and Ruth Putnam. Part II.: The Gradual Centralization of Power and the Burgundian Period. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York.

Life of Pope Leo XIII. By F. Marion Crawford. With portraits and other illustrations. Cloth, 8vo. Two

volumes. The Macmillan Company, New York and London. The biographer of Leo XIII. has a remarkable and unconventional personality for his subject-matter, and in the present instance Mr. Crawford's long residence in Italy, and personal contact with the aged prelate ought to enable him to do justice to his subject.

Roman Life Under the Cæsars. By Emile Thomas. Translated. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York.

The World's Orators. Ten volumes. Edited by Guy Carleton Lee, Ph. D., Johns Hopkins University. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Principles of Public Speaking. Comprising the Technique of Articulation, Phrasing, Emphasis; the Cure of Vocal Defects; the Elements of Gesture; a Complete Guide in Public Reading, Extemporaneous Speaking, Debate and Parliamentary Law, together with many Exercises, Forms and Practice Selections. By Guy Carleton Lee, Professor of Oratory in Johns Hopkins University. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York and London.

The Twentieth Century Handy Cyclopedia Britannica. A Condensation. Cloth, 50 cents; leather, indexed, \$1.00. Laird & Lee, Chicago.

FROM DECEMBER MAGAZINES

“*Laissez-faire* was the lisping of the infancy of economic science. Civilization is repudiating it, much more Christianity. For even civilization means human interference in the cosmic struggle for existence.”—GRAHAM TAYLOR, D.D., in “The Social Evolution of the Church;” *American Journal of Sociology* (November).

“Lafayette said that Nature did honor to herself in creating Washington, ‘and to show the perfection of her work, she placed him in such a position that each quality would have failed had it not been sustained by all the others.’”—LEILA HERBERT, in “The First American: His Homes and His Households;” *Harper’s Magazine*.

“When we say, ‘*Not alms, but a friend,*’ and make relief-giving our chief business; ‘*Lift the poor above the need of relief,*’ and do little but give the relief which helps to keep them down where they are, will not people think us insincere?”—ALEXANDER JOHNSON in “Certain Limits to Charity Organization Work;” *American Journal of Sociology* (November).

“I end by the expression of the opinion that the vote of the House and the vote of the Senate, by which the doctrine was established that a civil officer is liable to impeachment for misdemeanor in office, is a gain to the public that is full compensation for the undertaking, and that these proceedings against Mr. Johnson were free from any element or quality of injustice.”—HON. GEORGE S. BOUTWELL, in “The Impeachment of Andrew Johnson;” *McClure’s Magazine*.

“It was a brutal age, no doubt; an age of the press-gang, of the whipping-post, of jail fever, and all the horrors of the criminal code; an ignorant age, when the population, lords and louts alike, drank with great

freedom and reckoned cock-fighting among the more innocent joys of life; when education of the kind called popular, or more correctly primary—for popular it is not and never will be—was hardly thought of; a corrupt age, when offices and votes were bought and sold, and bishops owed their sees to the king's women.”—AUGUSTINE BIRRELL, in “John Wesley and Some Aspects of the Eighteenth Century in England;” *Scribner's*.

“The gold standard has become the standard of civilized nations by a process of evolution, which has led to a natural preference for the least variable, most compact, most easily transportable, and therefore most economical metal in the great transactions of modern business. It has been an evolution which has marched with such steady steps in the path of growing wealth, higher wages and industrial development that, to the intelligent observer of its progress, any assumption of its connection with the work of individual conspirators or of moneyed syndicates seems puerile.”—HON. JOHN DALZELL, in “Securing the Gold Standard by Law;” *North American Review*.

“It may seem fantastic to quote Emerson on the subject of commercial changes but, as Tyndall found many a scientific hint in the pages of this seer, so we may find in him many an illuminating comment on industrial events. Note for example this: ‘Wealth is the application of mind to nature; and the art of getting rich consists not in industry, much less in saving, but in a better order, in timeliness, in being at the right spot.’ I do not know in economic literature a truer word upon the significance and the necessity of business organization than these words contain.”—JOHN GRAHAM BROOKS, in “Strength and Weakness of the Trust Idea;” *The Engineering Magazine*.



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GUNTON'S MAGAZINE

REVIEW OF THE MONTH

**Dull Days
in the
Philippines**

Week after week passes and the long promised end of the Philippine warfare is not yet in sight. Reports of active operations are meager in the extreme. The campaign in the North seems to have lost point by reason of the escape of Aguinaldo and his followers across the mountains to the East and South. It seems likely that he is trying to make his way to the south of Manila and join the considerable body of insurgents still remaining in Cavité province. Operations there have been active during the last few weeks. Our troops are covering the territory around Laguna de Bay, meeting and driving off scattered bands of rebels; but nothing like a decisive battle yet. Probably Aguinaldo has no definite organized army left. One important incident breaks the monotony of the situation,—the rescue of Lieutenant Gillmore and his nineteen companions, who were captured by the insurgents last April. The rescue was made by Colonel Hare of the 33rd Infantry, early in January. Lieutenant Gillmore reports that while in the hands of Aguinaldo he was exceedingly well treated, but not so after falling into the charge of General Tino. At one time he and his party were condemned to be shot, and would have been but for the interference of Aguinaldo.

**Death of
General Lawton**

In the death of Major General Henry W. Lawton, at San Mateo on December 19th, we sustained the most serious individual loss that has befallen us in all the Philippine—or for that matter the Spanish—war. General Lawton was pre-eminently the aggressive fighter in our Philippine campaign, and fell a victim, indeed, to his personal fearlessness. General Lawton served as a volunteer in the civil war, thereafter for many years as an Indian campaigner, and made a brilliant record in the Santiago campaign of 1898, where he earned his rank of Major General. He had been in the Philippines since early in 1899, campaigning mostly to the north of Manila. His body is on the way home to the United States.

**The Philippine
Debate
in Congress**

The Philippine situation has absorbed more attention in congress thus far than the currency bills or even the sensational attack on Secretary Gage. On December 18th Senator Bacon, of Georgia, introduced resolutions intended to define our policy toward the Philippines, from which we quote two admirable paragraphs:

“That the United States having accepted the cession of the Philippines from Spain, and having by force of arms overthrown all organized authority and opposition to the authority of the United States therein, the duty and obligation rests upon the United States to restore peace and maintain order there throughout the same, protecting the islands, the enjoyment of life and property and the pursuit of lawful avocations; and to continue such protection until the power and duty to maintain such protection shall have been transferred and entrusted by the United States to a government of the people of said islands deemed capable and worthy to exercise said powers and discharge said duty.

“That when armed resistance to the authority of the United States shall have ceased within said islands, and peace and order shall have been restored therein, it is the purpose and intention of the United States, so soon thereafter as the same can practically and safely be accomplished, to provide the opportunity and prescribe the method for the formation of a government by and of the people of the Philippine islands, to be thereafter independently exercised and controlled by themselves;

it being the design of the United States to accord to the people of said islands the same measure of liberty and independence which have been pledged by the congress of the United States to the people of Cuba."

There is no likelihood that any such resolutions will be adopted. In the first place they come from the side of the house opposed to the administration; secondly, the temper of the majority party in congress is solidifying more and more in favor of permanently holding the islands. Senator Beveridge, of Indiana, in his maiden speech in the senate, delivered on January 9th, expressed this view with the utmost frankness. He said very little about the "inevitable duty placed upon us by providence," or the plan of "benevolent assimilation" solely for the benefit of the poor Filipinos. On the contrary his plea was strictly and unequivocally imperialistic; its keynote was the enormous wealth and resources of the Philippines, together with the trade opening they would afford in the competition for Chinese markets. Even Senator Wolcott, himself an expansionist, in commenting on Senator Beveridge's speech a few days later, could not refrain from describing it as "base and sordid." "This war," he continued, "if we consider first our duty to the people of the islands, is the noblest ever fought, but if our purpose in retaining them is that they are rich, the war will go down as miserable and degraded a one as ever disgraced the history of the middle ages."

The indirect attempt of Senator Beveridge to make Senator Hoar responsible for the Filipino insurrection, because of public utterances in this country, is an inexcusable effort to shift a burden that ought to be frankly and honestly accepted by the framers of our policy. However we may condemn the conduct of the Atkinsonians, after the war was on, it is nothing less than contemptible to charge the present situation upon the public and legitimate expressions of a senator before

the peace treaty was confirmed and when the whole Philippine problem was still rightly open to the freest discussion. It ill becomes the new senator from Indiana to charge disloyalty upon the head of a man who was helping mold and shape the type and quality of American patriotism long before Mr. Beveridge could spell "republic" or tell the colors of the flag!

**Secretary Hay's
Open-Door
Pledges**

Of course we shall keep a commercial foothold in the Philippines, whether we permanently annex them or not. In the next few decades we shall unquestionably have an important share in supplying Chinese markets. Already we are shipping large orders of coarser grades of cotton goods, especially from our southern mills. Since we cannot be a party to any dismemberment policy, our interest lies entirely in having the "open door" maintained. Secretary Hay has been working toward this object for a long time, and announced on January 2nd that he had obtained assurances from Great Britain, Germany, France, Russia and Japan, committing those countries to the policy of free commercial privileges in China, and two days later similar pledges were received from Italy. Critics of the state department have sneered at these pledges as mere "bluffs" of not a moment's value should circumstances seem to advise a different policy. Of course, the assurances are not binding; they are not enforceable by any international court; nevertheless, they do furnish a definite basis for diplomatic insistence upon preservation of our interests in the situation. There is a psychological force in all such conventions, whether legally binding or not. They enable the United States to throw the weight of its influence into the scale with whatever nation adheres to its pledge, in case any one or more of the others violate it. In other words, it gives us a diplomatic status

in the situation which can never hereafter be ignored, and at the present time this probably is as great a step as diplomacy could accomplish in our behalf.

We ought not, however, to get in the habit of overestimating the importance of these eastern markets. It is just about as certain as anything in industrial evolution that before many generations China will herself become a great manufacturing country, capable perhaps of actually exporting goods in competition with us, to say nothing of supplying herself. It is a land of enormous richness in natural resources and with a vast cheap-labor population. After China has adopted western methods we should not be surprised to find the western nations, which are now pouncing upon the Oriental market, raising tariff barriers to protect their own markets against the products of these same Chinamen.

Pacific
Cable
Project

But, whichever way the movement turns, it is sure to mean from now on a closer knitting together of commercial and industrial interests around the globe. The project of a Pacific cable is of far more than mere military or immediate trade interest. It is in line with the broad movement of expanding industrial civilization, and, if immediate necessities force it to come now instead of in twenty years, so much the better. A bill has been introduced in congress by Senator Hale providing for the construction by the United States government of a cable, proceeding by way of the Hawaiian, Midway and Guam Islands to Iloilo and Manila in the Philippines. Perhaps it will be more economical for the government to lay the cable itself than by contract, because some of the idle vessels of the navy could doubtless be utilized in the work.

**The
Deadlock in
South Africa**

Since the amazing series of British reverses, occurring all in a bunch last December, the Transvaal war has been hardly more interesting than our Philippine campaign. Each contestant has been lying back, watching and waiting for the other to spring. Lord Roberts, now chief in command, reached Cape Town January 9th, accompanied by Lord Kitchener, his chief of staff. Neither one, as yet, has proceeded to the field of action.

**English
Policy
Criticized**

The unpreparedness of the British war department at the outbreak of hostilities is still bringing down upon it the severest kind of criticism. It is remarkable how British authorities could have so thoroughly underestimated the size of the Boer army. The two little republics seem to have no less than fifty or sixty thousand men in the field, whereas British preparations were based more on the idea of meeting about twenty or thirty thousand. This very fact in a sense tends to justify England's position. It indicates that the government honestly expected to gain its point without recourse to arms. They waited, knowing that to prepare would simply force the conflict. As Lord Salisbury said in his Guildhall speech on November 9th: "The moment you had shown signs of raising your force to an equality with the force opposed to it, that moment the ultimatum would have been issued and war would have begun. . . . It is not, therefore, right to say that there was not adequate military preparation. The evil dates further back. It dates to those unfortunate arrangements in 1881 and 1884 by which we deliberately permitted a community obviously hostile to enjoy the unbounded, unlimited right of accumulating munitions of war against us. Year after year an accumulation of munitions was made which could only be directed against us."

**Sources
of
Irritation**

German friendship for England, so signally emphasized by the visit of Emperor William to Windsor Castle late in November, has been put to a severe test. On the 29th of December the German steamer Bundesrath was seized in Delagoa Bay by a British cruiser, on the suspicion of having on board a number of German officers and men intending to serve in the Boer army. Now German public sentiment has been by no means unanimous for England; kinship with the Dutch and the latent jealousy of Great Britain have at all times made the matter uncertain, and the seizure of this vessel might have resulted seriously except for the manner in which the British government received the German protest, and the tone of English comment on the affair. Details of the case are yet to be settled.

There has been another case of seizure; involving some American flour en route to Delagoa Bay on the British steamers Beatrice and Mashona and the Dutch steamer Maria. Our government protested, on the ground that foodstuffs, unless destined for the use of the enemy's army, cannot be considered contraband; to this view the British government acceded and has disavowed the seizure. Therefore, by this time presumably the flour has been released.

**The
Attack on
Ladysmith**

By the first of January conditions in Ladysmith had become serious, owing to the unsanitary condition of the camps and the persistent bombardment. Relying on this presumed weakness, the Boers, on January 5th and 6th, made several fierce assaults on General White's position. Some of the British positions on Wagon Hill, to the south, were taken several times and retaken by the English, and the fighting at times became so close that many assaults were literally repulsed at the point of the

bayonet. But the attack failed. General White maintained his position with a loss of nearly five hundred officers and men, killed or wounded. It seems impossible to get any authoritative estimate of the Boer loss. General White's ammunition is running low, but unless the Boers make a successful assault without delay he will be able to hold out until relieved.

**General
Buller's
Movements**

Indeed, the relief of Ladysmith seems now fairly within sight. After the defeat of December 15th, General Buller retired several miles south of the Tugela River and obtained a new supply of artillery. About the 10th of January he began a flanking movement to the westward of Colenso, and seized a bridge at Potgieter's Drift. Lord Dundonald by a sudden cavalry movement had seized the hills on the south shore of the river, so that artillery could be placed and the crossing movement protected. There was no carrying the guns into ambush this time. General Buller's army is now within a few miles of Ladysmith, and a great battle is raging as we go to press.

**Operations
Elsewhere**

General French seized Colesburg, in northern Cape Colony, on New Year's day, but was not long permitted to enjoy the fruits of victory, being driven out again the next night. With the exception of small engagements in that vicinity no marked advance has been made by either side. At the Modder River General Methuen has remained inactive, and it is believed he is about to be recalled. His mind appears to be affected, and the Modder River defeat turns out to have been largely due to rash tactics. General Wauchope, the gallant commander of the Highland Brigade who lost his life in that battle, is now known to have strongly protested

against the plan of operations outlined by Methuen. It is expected that Lord Kitchener will personally take charge of the campaign for relief of Kimberley. Colonel Baden-Powell, at Mafeking, made a sortie on December 26th, which was repulsed with small loss. Mafeking is really in a more perilous position than any of the other British outposts; it is separated from any relief force by more than two hundred miles, and supplies are limited. One incident at Mafeking, early in January, is an interesting commentary on the Boer claim of superior humanity in the conduct of this war. In the course of a bombardment on January 2nd, they deliberately fired a number of nine-pounder shells into the women's laager, killing a little girl and wounding two children.

**Better
Trend in
France**

At last it seems that France has an administration with sufficient backbone to stand up against the enemies of the republic, who have been masquerading as popular heroes and defenders of the "honor of the army." The French senate, sitting as a high court of justice, has been trying some twenty politicians and notorious anti-Semites on charges of conspiracy and plotting to re-establish a monarchy with the aid of the army. On January 4th verdicts were rendered banishing Déroulède, Buffet and the Marquis de Lur Saluces, each for a period of ten years, and sentencing M. Guérin to ten years' confinement in a military prison. Déroulède and Guérin attempted to pose as martyrs and stir up a popular demonstration, but indeed they stirred up not even a ripple. It may be that the overwhelming tide of criticism visited on France is at last working its way into the French consciousness. If so, these wholesale regenerative measures will really command public support instead of furnishing the basis for more agitation

and disruption. The Waldeck-Rousseau cabinet is much the strongest that France has had for a long time, and President Loubet by his firmness and determination may actually be the means of drawing together and strengthening the best forces of the republic, and starting an altogether better and cleaner current of public life in France. Power and determination appeal wonderfully to the French imagination. To the extent that the government exhibits these qualities it is sure to be popular. The timidity and conciliation of previous cabinets have furnished the motley crowd of agitators, monarchists and anti-Semites with just the opportunities they have wanted for appealing to the masses and trying to subvert the republic.

**A Year of
Prosperity**

The year 1899 can place to its credit the largest volume of business ever transacted in the United States. This is literally true both of domestic and foreign trade, of bank clearings, of railroad earnings, of industrial organizations and new enterprises; and probably no other single year in this country ever witnessed so general and material a rise in wages. The clearing-house transactions of the country aggregated more than \$93,000,000,000, which is 36 per cent. more than last year, 74 per cent. more than in 1897, and 51 per cent. more than in 1892 even, the last year of great prosperity before the panic. Failures for the year were only 9,641, or 17 per cent. fewer than last year, 27 per cent. fewer than in 1897, 36 per cent. fewer than in 1896, and even 6 per cent. fewer than in 1892; being, indeed, the smallest list since 1883. In the South there has been enormous expansion, particularly in cotton manufacturing. During the year it is estimated that new cotton factories were incorporated or began operations in the southern states to the extent of more than \$25,-

ooo,ooo capital invested, representing nearly one and one-half million spindles.

Our exports of railroad materials and equipment have reached remarkable proportions, and negotiations are under way with several foreign governments for cars and locomotives to the value of nearly \$7,000,000. Russia already has close to 1,000 American locomotives, Japan 100, and many English railroads even have been ordering locomotives of American make. About 4,500 miles of new railroad was constructed in this country during 1899, the largest increase since 1892. Cost of this was in southern and western states.

More Consolidations and More Competition The great rush of "trust" organization was, of course, in the winter and spring of 1899, but the movement continued at a very respectable rate all through the year. According to the *Journal of Commerce*, new industrial companies with an aggregate of \$2,000,000,000 capital and bonds were organized during 1899, in addition to nearly \$400,000,000 in gas, electric and street railway companies. Besides these, organizations representing a capital of \$1,800,000,000 were projected during the year but not completed; additional stock was issued, and new corporations, not consolidations or trusts, were organized with a capital amounting to nearly \$770,000,000; the grand total being about \$5,216,000,000. A good many of these reorganizations, representing something over \$1,000,000,000 capital, were abandoned during the year, but as it is the total is stupendous. As might have been expected, some of these concerns have suffered radical shrinkages of stock values, and none of them have succeeded in "throttling" competition. Even in the lines where concentration is greatest, vigorous competition has arisen. Witness the new Telephone, Telegraph and Cable Company of America, in-

incorporated in November with a capital of \$30,000,000, as one instance. In the same month the National Tin Plate Company was incorporated with a capital of \$5,000,000, to develop certain new patents in tin-plate manufacture and compete with the American Tin Plate Company. About the same time a million dollar "Anti-Trust Making Powder Company" was incorporated in the state of Delaware. In the iron industry there are no less than fourteen immense concerns, several of them being reorganizations of numerous small concerns. In the sugar industry all the independent refineries are still in the field, and it is reported that a very large refinery is to be built at Tampa, Florida, to utilize raw sugar near its source of production, both from Cuba and the southern states. The American Sugar Refining Company has just recently—during January, in fact—abandoned the old-time factor's agreement system and is selling to the trade at large in competition with outside refineries.

**Financial
Troubles**

The immense volume of business in the latter part of the year, coming at the time when country banks were withdrawing their deposits from New York and gold was being shipped abroad, caused a severe monetary crisis which only radical measures saved from developing into a serious panic. Wall Street did indeed experience something of a panic, on December 18th, but a group of banks came to the rescue with a loan of \$9,000,000 just in time to bring interest rates down to safety and prevent a possible long list of failures. This of course was only a temporary measure; probably it could not have held off the result permanently had it not been for the offer of Secretary Gage to place on deposit in national banks the internal receipts of the government in exchange for United States bonds to be deposited in the treasury as security.

This policy has been followed several times, conspicuously under President Cleveland's first administration. There is no other way at present of providing against the constant withdrawal from circulation of the government's revenues at the rate of a million dollars a day. If we had a scientific banking system with proper note-issuing facilities such a crisis could hardly arrive, but under any circumstances it is sheer waste to hold government funds useless in the vaults when they might be on deposit and serving the business interests of the whole community.

**The Attack on
Secretary Gage**

Nevertheless, this policy of the secretary was at once subjected to violent attacks. A resolution was introduced in congress, January 4th, demanding that he furnish a full statement of all the transactions and correspondence in the matter. The principal point of criticism was that the National City Bank of New York was entrusted with the distribution of these deposits to the various banks applying for them; but, as Secretary Gage made plain in his reply submitted to congress January 10th, this was solely a measure of convenience, to save the treasury department the expense of daily instructions to a large number of collectors. The National City Bank was selected as distributing agent because that bank offered the largest amount of bonds as security. With his reply Secretary Gage submitted the entire correspondence of the department on the subject, and the effort to work up a scandal is already a failure. Even a democratic congressman, Mr. Sibley of Pennsylvania, on the floor of the house defended the secretary's action, declaring: "I had rather see the country prosperous than to see my party succeed."

The result of the secretary's policy was to relieve the situation, avert the panic and provide for leaving

the surplus revenue money in circulation where it belongs. The government's cash balance remains exactly the same, because banks holding funds of the United States may be for the time being literally considered parts of the United States treasury, and are liable to be called upon for their deposits whenever the treasury may require them.

**New York
State
Affairs**

Aside from Governor Roosevelt's struggle to appoint a new superintendent of insurance in the place of Louis F. Payn, and the conflict over educational unification, the most interesting thing at Albany so far during this session of the legislature has been the report of Superintendent Partridge on the operation of the canals during 1898-99. It shows that in spite of the much-reduced appropriations available when he took the office on January 18th, 1899, he was able by rigid economy, cutting off superfluous help and selecting only the most efficient employees, to get through the fiscal year till September 30th not only without overrunning the appropriation but leaving a small balance of some \$2,000 on hand, with practically all bills paid. This is a highly creditable report, and stands out in brilliant contrast to the mismanagement of the few years previous. Superintendent Partridge states that if a general plan of canal improvement is not undertaken an extra appropriation of about \$350,000 annually should be made for strengthening banks, bridges and walls. The legislature ought not to allow the canal to deteriorate if it can be maintained on its present basis in good condition with so light an additional expenditure as this.

**The
Mazet
Report**

On January 15th the majority and minority reports of the Mazet Investigating Committee were submitted to the legislature. The report of the committee's counsel, Frank

Moss, had been previously published, much to the offence of somebody, apparently, since Mr. Moss was not called in to assist in preparing the committee's statement. Briefly, the majority report is a long arraignment of the Tammany administration of New York city and the Croker system of bossism and personal profit therefrom. Along with it, some eight bills were introduced affecting different departments of the city government. The two minority members made a separate report denouncing the investigation as a purely partisan job, and offering the "single recommendation that the people of the city of New York be permitted to govern themselves."

There is really nothing surprising in the "revelations" of this wonderful investigation; nothing that has materially added to public indignation on the subject. The public knew the situation already, in general if not in detail. In fact, this investigation lacked popular confidence from the start. It seemed too obviously calculated to make capital for a political campaign. There was never any good reason why Mr. Platt should not have been called to the stand as well as Mr. Croker, especially after the committee took up the Ramapo affair and called before it nearly everybody who had any sort of connection with it except the senior senator from New York. It was an ill-timed and ill-advised undertaking anyway. Ostensibly, its object was to pave the way for legislation taking certain powers out of the hands of city officials, or otherwise interfering with the local government. But this is contrary to the principles of responsibility in government and local control of local affairs. If the people elect a corrupt Tammany administration they should experience the fruits thereof, in order the better to appreciate the necessity of a radical change. Yet, a bill has actually been introduced

providing for exactly the same sort of a commission to continue the investigation during 1900.

Moody

and

Martineau

Two men of international prominence have passed away since our last issue.

The famous evangelist Dwight L. Moody died at his home in East Northfield, Mass., on December 22d; and on January 12th the world of philosophical scholarship and liberal thought lost one of its most distinguished citizens in the death of Dr. James Martineau, the aged English author, professor and theologian. Mr. Moody was no scholar, but a singularly earnest, devoted and successful religious worker. His name long has been a household word both here and abroad. Dr. Martineau was a fine type of the non-controversial, sympathetic, constructive, liberal theologian, a man of the loftiest nobility of thought; one of those who labor to add to the helpfulness and inspiration of religion the somewhat newer quality of "sweet reasonableness." Dr. Martineau was Unitarian in theology but opposed the growth of a new sect, preferring throughout to style himself a Presbyterian.

CHEAP LABOR IN THE SOUTH

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The last report of the North Carolina Bureau of Labor contains a fly-leaf on which is printed in large type: "A fine chance for a cotton mill investment . . . no laws regulating the hours of labor and the age of employment; *cheap labor* and the home of the cotton plant." Of the many enticements held out to capital in the South, cheap labor is the most seductive and the one which has given the greatest impetus to manufacturing. It is a fact of sufficient general interest to justify an inquiry into its causes and effects.

The impression is pretty general throughout the North that the cheap labor of the South is due to a low standard of living among the employed classes. This impression is erroneous, for, however true it may be that the standard of living governs the rate of wages, it is not true that cheap labor necessarily means low wages or low standard of life. The difference in the money wages paid by manufacturers in North Carolina and in Massachusetts is 42%,* according to investigations of the department in Washington. The southern operatives receive less money, but with a given sum they can buy very much more than the laborers of the

* Seventh Annual Report of U. S. Comm'r of Labor, Vol. 2, p. 1682.

North. House rent, house furniture, clothing and provisions require much less outlay in the southern states. In Massachusetts rent is 46% higher per family than in North Carolina.† The average outlay for meat per family in Massachusetts is \$121.17, in North Carolina \$70.94,‡ the difference being chiefly due to the less cost of beef, pork and poultry in the last named state. The total cost of food is 41% higher in Massachusetts.§ A comparison of the chief articles of food in Lowell,|| Massachusetts, and Durham, North Carolina, April 6, 1899, was as follows:

LOWELL		DURHAM	
Roast beef. . . . .	.15 to .25	Roast beef . . . . .	.08
Bacon, C. R.. . . . .	.10	Bacon, C. R.. . . . .	.07½
Eggs (dozen). . . . .	.18 to .40	Eggs (dozen). . . . .	.10 to .12½
Butter. . . . .	.18 to .28	Butter . . . . .	.20 to .25
Sugar. . . . .	.05 to .06	Sugar . . . . .	.06½
Family flour ½. . . . .	.65	Family flour ½. . . . .	.60
Irish potatoes . . . . .	.50 to 1.00	Irish potatoes.	1.25
Sweet " . . . . .	.02 to .05	Sweet " . . . . .	.01
Molasses. . . . .	.40 to .70	Molasses . . . . .	.40
Coffee, Rio. . . . .	.20	Coffee, Rio . . . . .	.12½
Milk . . . . .	.05	Milk . . . . .	.05

It would appear from the above figures that butter, milk and bread cost about the same in both sections, but in fact these things cost less in Durham and in most southern towns, for the reason that many families own their own cows and do not have to buy butter or milk. Many factory families also raise vegetables and chickens, and thus save many items of expense. While Irish potatoes are as cheap in the North as in the South, they are used much less in the South, the sweet potato being the favorite vegetable among the southern people. While the price of flour is about the same in both sections, the fact that the northern laborers use

† Seventh Annual Report of U. S. Comm'r of Labor, Vol. 2, p. 1682.

‡ Ibid, p. 1678. § Ibid, p. 1680.

|| Facts furnished by Jeremiah Crowley, Mayor of Lowell.

much more baker's bread causes them to expend about 20 per cent. more for that food. The average factory family in Massachusetts expends \$53.26 per year for bread, while the average expenditure in North Carolina is only \$44.78.*

While it is impossible to arrive at an exact comparison of the cost of living in the two sections by appeal to statistics, the above facts and explanations are sufficient to show that the cost of living upon a given standard is much less in the South and that the difference in the money wages, at least in the manufacturing industries, is almost neutralized by the difference in outlay for rent and provisions. Short and mild winters require little outlay for clothing. Whether labor is cheap or dear does not depend upon the amount of cash paid for it, but upon what that cash will buy. Viewing the matter in this light the condition of the southern laborers is not so bad as many people have been led to believe.

While the writer is anxious to correct the false impression regarding the standard of living of laborers in the South, he by no means wishes to intimate that the standard of living among them is what it ought to be, or that the low standard of living does not stand in the way of higher wages. The meager wants of the negroes hold their own wages down and also the wages of the whites who in many lines of activity have to give way to this cheaper labor. The widespread illiteracy among both the blacks and whites is also a great obstacle to higher wages. People without education or special training of any kind must work within very narrow confines. Only the poorest-paid occupations are open to them. But when their standard of intelligence is elevated, higher wants are awakened, and

*Seventh Annual Report U. S. Commissioner of Labor, Vol. 2, p. 1679.

hence better talent and skill come into requisition and command better pay. The trouble in the South is too much pressure at the bottom. The human mind as a resource is not yet sufficiently recognized.

Lack of education is one of the chief reasons of the lack of diversity of industries, and gives rise to a condition which is known as oversupply of labor. Heretofore agriculture has been the only important occupation and hence the field of employment for all classes has been much circumscribed. The steady decline in recent years in the value of cotton, tobacco and turpentine has made farming in many sections very unprofitable and caused population to congest in the towns and cities, attracted thither by the prospect of employment in mills and factories. A stream of laborers from the fields is likely to flow toward the manufacturing centers for many years to come, causing a constant surfeit of the labor market and arresting any considerable rise in wages.

It is a fact noticeable in all countries that women receive less pay than men, but in the South there is a peculiar condition of things affecting their compensation. Everywhere else in the civilized world, the chief avenue of employment for women is found in domestic service. But in the South that field is occupied by the negroes. Hence the sphere of action of white women is exceedingly narrow, the chief outlet being in needlework and the cotton factory.

While the negroes exclude the white race from many avenues of employment, the whites also close many doors against the negroes. The negro is in the way of the white man at the bottom, and the white man is in the way of the negro at the top.

Not an inconsiderable obstacle to an advance of wages in the South is the extensive employment of women and children. Taking the industries tabulated

on page 13 of the 11th Annual Report of the Commissioner of Labor, the figures indicate that 80% of all the laborers in southern industries are females, as compared with 42% in New England. According to the same report, 25% of the laborers in the the South are children under eighteen years of age, as compared with nine and one-half per cent. in New England. In North Carolina 5,363 children under fourteen years of age work in the cotton and woollen mills. (Report N. Carolina Labor Commission 1897.)

Perhaps another reason for the poor wages in the South is the absence of any labor organizations. Farm laborers are too isolated for cooperation, while the operatives in factories, being mostly women and children, of course cannot effect an organization.

Having suggested some of the causes of cheap labor in the South, let us now look at some of the effects. First, what are the effects upon other sections of the country? The most pronounced effect is the lowering of wages in textile industries. Wages have been affected also in other lines of industry, although in a less marked and more silent manner. For instance, the employment of negroes in the coal mines of West Virginia, enabling the operatives to sell coal cheaper than could be done in any other part of the country, no doubt played a part in precipitating the cut-throat competition among operators in 1897, bringing down the price of coal and labor in other states, and inaugurating the great strike of that year.*

The cheapness of female labor has been a powerful stimulus to the manufacture of clothing in a number of southern towns and cities, and the goods are now shipped to New York and sold in competition with the sweater product of the city. The wages of women

* *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, Jan. 1898, p. 193.

seamstresses in Charlotte and Atlanta is more than a third less than is paid upon the average in the North.

There can be no doubt that the cheap labor in the iron industries of the South has been a factor in the decline in value in iron ore and iron fabrics within the past few years.

Shifting the point of view, let us ask: What are some of the effects of cheap labor upon the South? That many manufacturers are piling up fortunes is beyond question. That wealth is vastly augmenting itself is no less certain. But how are the masses withstanding the sudden revolution from an agricultural to a manufacturing life? How is the eleven and a half hours work-day affecting the well-being of the laborers? How is the employment of children affecting the educational progress of the country, and what will be the final outcome in respect to morals, religion, politics and civilization? The history of manufacturing in Great Britain under similar conditions answers these questions.

The long hours and unrestricted employment of children can have no other than bad results, both for the workers and for society; and should these present conditions continue for any considerable length of years the development of manufacturing would come to be an unmixed evil. However, there is reason to hope that these conditions are temporary. When the southern mills get on a firmer basis and when the people have had time to think out some of the factory problems, now entirely new to them, no doubt proper restrictions will be thrown around the employees. In the meantime, it ought not to be forgotten that laborers in the South do not work any longer than those of France, Austria or Switzerland.* The workers in the textile mills in the South are better off financially than they

*Lecky's "Democracy and Liberty," Vol. 2, p. 426.

were when they lived upon the farm. But physically and morally they are the worse for wear. Under present conditions they are manifesting an unmistakable tendency in a downward direction.

And now it remains to notice the remedy which is being proposed for the eradication of some of the evil effects of cheap labor. A sentiment has recently developed in favor of a national law limiting a day's work to ten hours in factories and mines, and prohibiting the employment of children under fourteen years. It is claimed that the wage class have great difficulty in raising their standard of living on account of the diversity of conditions in each state and the fact that any state legislation is only local in its application. Some students of labor problems are even advocating an international agreement to limit the hours of work, and thus, they say, prevent one country from taking advantage of another. We have already international regulation of telegrams, postage, copyrights and currency (instance, the Latin Union), and why not the hours of labor? Such an agreement, it is argued, would place competition upon a high plane, making success depend upon superior workmanship, better equipment and wiser management. Cut-throat competition at the expense of the wage-earners would be ended and industrial depressions less frequent.

In the opinion of the writer, any national or international restriction of the hours of labor would entirely fail to relieve manufacturers of the effects of cheap labor competition. If the length of a day's work were the same everywhere, the money wages would vary in each locality according to productive power, cost of living and supply of laborers; and hence the price of the finished product would not be changed. If anywhere the working time were reduced by law, the manufacturers could hold the market by reduction of

wages, and this would be done if the curtailment of time did not work out compensating results in quantity and quality of product. If the efficiency of laborers, as well as the hours of work, could everywhere be equalized, wages would still vary according to the cost of living, or, in other words, according to the bounty of nature.

While uniformity in working time cannot banish cheap labor competition, it does not follow that a national law to limit adult labor would be bad policy. If such a law should cut down every man's wages, it would be better to have less pay and less deadening work. But, indeed, it is not probable that a reduction in the hours of work would in the least impair the productive power of the nation. "A day of rest," says Macauley, "recurring every week, two or three hours of leisure, exercise, innocent amusement or useful study, recurring every day, must improve the whole man, physically, morally, intellectually; and the improvement of the man will improve all that the man produces." Laborers who live under conditions that induce the longest life, afford the most leisure for recreation and study, will in the long run be the most productive and hold the market against any and all competition.

The advantage in manufacturing which the South has at present over the North is due entirely to nature. The bounty of nature enables the southern laborers to live with less expenditures for the necessities of life. This advantage may remain perhaps a quarter of a century, but will affect adversely only a few industries in other parts of the country. In proportion as manufacturing in the South becomes general and diversified, the cost of rent and food will rise and sweep away the present differences between the cost of living in the two sections.

Finally, the money wages paid and the conditions

under which the laborer works, North and South, will be practically the same, and then supremacy will depend upon proximity to raw product and to the consumer.

WHAT CAN BE DONE ABOUT IT?

BY THE EDITOR

In the foregoing article Professor Dowd discusses the problem of cheap labor in the South with the evident spirit of being eminently impartial, analytic and sociological. Although a professor of economics and sociology in a North Carolina college, he has apparently divested himself of any taint of sectional prejudice and aimed to discuss the matter on the broad lines of economics and public policy. He begins by correcting what he thinks an erroneous impression "throughout the North that the cheap labor of the South is due to a low standard of living," and arrives at the conclusion that the operatives' standard of living is not lower in the South than in the East, but only that the same things are cheaper in the South. In proof of this he compares prices in Durham and Lowell. Durham is a town of about 7,000 population in North Carolina; Lowell is a city of 84,000 population in Massachusetts. Prices in a country town and a large industrial city can hardly be regarded as proper subjects for comparison. Moreover, all the facts except those furnished by Mayor Crowley are ten years old, being taken before present factory conditions in the South existed.

He quotes statistics (1890), giving the cost of food as 41% higher in Massachusetts than in North Carolina.

But this is not sustained even by his Durham and Lowell table of prices. The writer has just visited a number of the factory places in North and South Carolina, Georgia and Alabama, for the special purpose of ascertaining exactly this class of facts. In the factory towns of the South, like Birmingham, Columbus (Georgia) and Charlotte (North Carolina), beef is not eight cents a pound, except the poor pieces such as can be bought in New York and New England for eight or ten cents. But the prime joints like steak and roast are from twelve to eighteen cents, and confessedly inferior to the western beef which comes to the East.

The truth is that butter, sugar, flour, potatoes (Irish potatoes are much cheaper in the East and sweet potatoes cheaper South) and other items of food and provisions are substantially the same in the factory towns of similar size both South and East. If we take the entire table of the comparative prices in Lowell and Durham, we find that the aggregate of the highest price column for Durham is \$3.01. The corresponding column of Lowell prices aggregates \$3.74, or about 24% higher. But if we take the column of lower prices in both cases, which may be taken more nearly to represent the operatives' usual purchases, the cost of these provisions is \$2.94 in Durham and \$2.48 in Lowell, showing Durham prices to be 18% higher than Lowell.

Nor is the claim that clothing and furniture are cheaper in the South borne out by our investigations. Cheaper furniture is used, but almost invariably it is inferior. Concerning clothing we took special pains to inquire in every town, and, for similar quality, shoes, underwear, hats, gloves, suits, in fact every form of clothing is as expensive in Charlotte, Columbus, Atlanta, Spartanburg or any of the factory towns in the South as it is in New York city.

The assumption that many families own cows,

raise vegetables and chickens, and thus furnish themselves with a large part of their provisions and vegetable supplies is frequently made. The *Atlanta Constitution* in some vigorous editorials has more than once made this statement. All that we can say on this point is to call for particulars. Either Professor Dowd or the chief of the North Carolina Bureau of Statistics or the editor of the *Atlanta Constitution* will please name where these are. Nothing of the kind, worthy the name, is visible in any factory town visited. In Atlanta the tenements occupied by factory operatives have not the semblance of a garden or cow-keeping privilege. They are simply a group of tenements, practically all of one pattern, put there by the corporation, and if there are half a dozen factory operatives in Atlanta who raise their own vegetables and keep a cow and chickens, the fact seems not to be known. The same is true of other places. In Phoenix, Alabama, there were a few who had a little patch at the back of the house, and two or three in Spartanburg, but it is entirely erroneous to say that this is in any sense characteristic of the factory operatives in the South.

It is true that house rent is lower in the South, and it is also true that the houses are very much poorer. In most places the operatives occupy two or three, in some cases four, rooms. The rent is usually fifty cents per room per month. But the habitual standard of living of the operatives is such that if the family is not more than three or four they will occupy but two rooms, it being a common thing—probably the rule—that the kitchen has a bed in it. It would be difficult to find a better mercury for the standard of domestic life in a community than the interior appointment and arrangement of the average home. It would be safe to say that one could travel through the factory towns of New York and New England and not find on an average one case a week where

the operatives have a bed in the same room with the cooking-stove, whatever the size of the family; except perhaps in the case of new immigrants from Canada. The standard of living is sufficiently differentiated that at least the kitchen is a room to itself and sleeping apartments are separated from it. Moreover, in a great majority of the eastern tenements—and they are bad enough—there is one room that serves as a parlor or sitting-room; that is to say, one room that has neither a cooking-stove nor a bed in it. Also in a large majority of cases that room at least will have a carpet on it. We do not remember to have seen a carpet in a single operative's house in the South. For the most part the interior of the operatives' houses was either whitewashed or the boards left untouched. Only a few were plastered, painted or papered, and hence there was practically no artistic decoration, no evidence of social refinement, of personal taste, or any of the qualities that indicate a superior standard of living.

In discussing the cause of the low wages Professor Dowd says lack of education is one of the chief reasons of the lack of diversity of industries, and gives rise to a condition which is known as an over-supply of labor. It is true that ignorance and illiteracy are causes of low wages, because they are important elements in a low standard of living. Education would not affect wages if it did not affect the intelligence, tastes, habits and custom of living of the laboring class. It is quite possible to have educated people who live in a narrow groove, dominated by some theory of social life or religion or by the traditional usage of the country, leading the very same monotonous life, and with very low wages. Many illustrations of this are to be found in Asia and some parts of Europe. If education can be turned in the direction of making monotony a virtue it will never stimulate the rise of wages, but may become

an insuperable barrier to progress. But in this country education does immediately tend to diversify the tastes, desires, ambitions, and consequently the energy and demands, of the people, and is therefore a direct stimulating force to higher wages.

Professor Dowd lays great stress, however, on the oversupply of labor as the cause of low wages in the South. Here again he seems not to have been in recent touch with the facts. There is no evidence of oversupply of laborers in the manufacturing districts of the South. On the contrary, the demand for labor seems to be pressing on the supply. Corporations in many places have had to offer special inducements to people to leave the country and the mountains to come to the factories and work. In many cases, and indeed this is almost the rule, they advance the money to bring them to town and then deduct it, with interest, from their wages, a little at a time. This has been the case even in so large a city as Atlanta. The writer has now over one hundred and fifty pay envelopes, collected from operatives in Atlanta, on which deductions from wages, often of more than half, were made on account of money advanced for transportation in bringing the families from the country districts to the city to work in the mills. This shows that there is no voluntary "stream of laborers from the fields" to "the manufacturing centers."

"Not an inconsiderable obstacle" says Professor Dowd, "to the advance of wages in the South is the extensive employment of women and children. . . . Eighty per cent. of all the laborers in southern industries are females as compared with forty-two per cent. in New England. . . . Twenty-five per cent. of the laborers in the South are children under eighteen years of age, as compared with nine and one-half per cent. in New England." Here is one of the most potent causes of the low wages. The most conspicuous

feature of the factory conditions in the South is the heavy preponderance of women and children employed in the mills. The corporations seem to realize this, as shown by the quotation from the fly leaf of the Labor Bureau Report: "A fine chance for cotton mill investment . . . no laws regulating the hours of labor and the age of employment; *cheap labor* and the home of the cotton plant." It is a common thing in all the factories in the South to find children, from seven and eight years of age up, working sixty-six and seventy hours a week.

It is a common thing, especially among the families that have come from the mountains, to find three and four children and the mother all working in the mill, and the father walking the streets and acting as dinner carrier. In such cases, though the wages are insignificantly small for each worker, the aggregate for the family is much more than the man previously earned; and so, while the family is getting more, a brood of ignorant, illiterate, socially-stunted laborers is being raised and a low wage rate being established. There is throughout the South practically no education of factory children, and no hindrance—not even a public sentiment except what the trade unions create—against their employment at the tenderest age at which they can mind the machines.

The effect of this upon other sections of the country,—“The most pronounced effect,” as Professor Dowd suggests,—“is the lowering of wages in textile industries.” Although the wages paid in the South are a marked improvement on what the same laborers had previously received, they are from ten to forty per cent. lower for the same work than the wages paid in the eastern states. The price of weaving, for instance, is about fifty per cent. more in New England than in the South. Six and one-fourth cents a cut (fifty yards) is

the price for weaving on the most improved (Draper) looms, as against ten cents in New England, where more than three-fourths of the weaving is still done on looms for which nineteen and eight-tenths cents a cut is paid.

Since the South has quite as good machinery as the East, these lower wages (and, where day workers are involved, longer hours) very largely result in greater profits to southern manufacturers. The dividends recently declared in the southern corporations range from twelve to fifty per cent. and in some few instances more. Whenever a dull time comes and competition between the East and South sets in, eastern manufacturers under present conditions will be very hard pressed, if not crowded to the wall. The southern manufacturers will be able to drop prices to a point that will involve loss to their eastern competitors and still have comfortable profits for themselves.

Now if they are able to do this at all it will be because of this cheaper labor made possible by the low standard of living, the working of babes, and the raising of a generation of ignorant, stultified citizens. The question for the economist and the statesman to ask is: When this inevitable pressure of competition comes, is it for the advantage of the South, for the advantage of the nation, that the standard of the eastern operatives should be lowered, or that of the southern operatives raised? One or the other of these is sure to come when this competition arrives.

It is not a question of censuring the southern employers or of praising the eastern employers, for the eastern capitalists have done in the past exactly what the southern capitalists are doing now, taking advantage of cheap labor conditions whenever they could. It is a question of judicious and economic application of public policy so as to make it impossible for any class

of capitalists, either East or South, to secure supremacy and grow opulent by undermining the physical health and stultifying the social and moral character of the people. The remedy evidently lies in the domain of public policy, and not in that of censuring individual or corporate action. The only remedy that can possibly come is to raise the level of the cheap labor in the South and so prevent it from being used to lower the level of the dearer labor. This cannot be done by any law fixing the wages. It cannot be done by any arbitrary regulation of the supply of laborers, even if that were necessary, which it appears not to be. The real remedy is what ultimately became inevitable in England in the first half of the century and in New England in the 70's—adoption throughout the South of the modern factory acts, the two features of which especially needed there are a ten-hour law and a limit of the age of working children in the factories to fourteen years. Half-time restriction would be still better.

It is a little peculiar that, while noting the fact that the shortening of the working day in England and in the eastern states has been the means of successfully dealing with these questions, Professor Dowd thinks restriction of the hours of labor would entirely fail as a remedy. He says: "If the efficiency of laborers, as well as the hours of work, could everywhere be equalized, wages would still vary according to the cost of living, or, in other words, according to the bounty of nature." Of course it would be true that, whatever the hours of labor, wages will vary according to the cost of living, but with the increased social opportunities that come of a reasonable amount of leisure and opportunity the standard of living itself is altered, and through it the wage rate is lifted.

Another feature of the factory acts, and in some respects even a more important one for the South, is

the employment of children. Under the present conditions practically the whole family is in the factory, and the school influence and home life are nil, except that the latter may be degrading. If it were made illegal for children to work in the mills under fourteen years of age, that would at once take a considerable portion of the present operatives right out of the mills, and if that were coupled with compulsory education it would send them to the schools. The social effect of this it would be difficult to overstate. In the first place, taking these children out of the mills would compel, in a large majority of cases, the father to go to work to support the family. It would at once so interfere with the income of the family from the babes as to set in motion a demand for higher wages among those who were working. This would start the movement for a rise of the wage level, not at first through a higher standard of living but to maintain the same standard.

On the other side, the children going to the schools would be an added force toward lifting the social life of the family. The most ordinary ideas of decency would compel that the children should be passably clad to go to school. They would there also learn some ideas of neatness and taste and refinement, which they would carry back with them into the homes. This would be another force toward raising the standard of living. The tendency of this would be to make it necessary for the wife to stay at home to look after the interests of the family. This would be another contribution to a better standard of living. Cleanliness, domestic attractiveness, would become an increased feature in the operatives' homes. In a very short time these influences would make it impossible to have a bed in the kitchen. Higher ideas of comfort would be demanded, and that would soon become a force for exacting the wages necessary to supply it. With the shortening of the

working day, say to ten hours, the enforced attendance at school of all children under fourteen years of age would be a great first step toward the lifting of the wage level, and with it happily the social life and intelligence of the operative class in the South, without injury to the corporations. If the corporations were on the verge of bankruptcy, threatened with extinction from superior competitors, there might be some ground for their opposition to such a movement. But on the contrary they are making lucrative profits. They are amassing new wealth at a rate that was never known in the palmiest days of slavery. They can well afford whatever infringement of profits may result from such a policy. There is no social or moral justification under any conditions for a capitalist class to grow rich by means of the degradation of laborers.

When capital is prosperous labor should progress. Every prosperous era for capital should afford some lasting improvement for labor. No fear of competition, no pressure of profits, no complaint of previous loss can be presented as an excuse for the southern corporations to oppose this step in humane as well as highly economic public policy. Every consideration of social ethics, of economic justice, of humane public policy, demands that the southern capitalist welcome the immediate adoption of these two well-tested and universally approved measures.

THE MORMON POWER IN AMERICA

J. M. SCANLAND

According to figures recently obtained from the office of the "Historian" of the Mormon church at Salt Lake City, there are about three hundred and sixty thousand members of that sect—the accession during the year 1899 being about sixty thousand, the largest increase of any previous year. Of this total number there are 300,000 in the United States, as follows: In Utah, 225,000, which comprises 75 per cent, of the population of the State; Idaho, 30,000; Arizona, 10,000; Colorado, 5,000; Wyoming, 3,000; New Mexico, 2,000; Nevada, 2,000; California, 1,000; Montana, 1,000; and, in the eastern and southern states, about 25,000. In addition, there are colonies in Mexico and Canada, the aggregate being about 5,000 in each of these countries. Special attention is being directed to these new fields, and newly arrived immigrants are being sent to these countries.

There are seventeen hundred missionaries in the field and, with few exceptions, they report progress. The "Historian" further stated that the church membership was now increasing more rapidly than at any previous time within its history, and he believed that it would only be a comparatively short time before the "Latter Day Saints" would "prevail" over the United States, and in the "fulness of time" would dominate the world." The "saints" firmly believe that they will ultimately rule the United States, not only spiritually but politically also; that all other creeds in the world will be swept away and that the Mormon religion, the "only true faith," will finally be accepted by universal mankind. The Mormon creed teaches a close

union of church and state, with absolute power vested in a church-head, whose will is infallible, and whose word is law and must be obeyed without questioning whether it be right, wrong, or expedient. An oath to this effect is administered to the convert on becoming a member.

The Mormon church is communistic in principle, autocratic in its government, and its increasing strength is a menace to this republic, because of its socialistic organization and polygamous teachings. The Mormons believe that polygamy is a divine institution, and that their church was founded for the express purpose of carrying out this Supreme will, and in preference to all other creeds then in existence. They firmly believe (and many educated people are included) that an angel of the Lord really did appear to Joseph Smith and gave to him the "Golden Tablets," from which he translated the Mormon Bible. This, they hold, is the "true" Bible, and that the Christian, or "Gentile" Bible, has been changed from the original text and is no longer authority. That is the cause of the visitation of the angel—to bring unto the world the "true word."

"The original church having divided into so many sects, and lost the right path, a 'new testament' was needed, and the Lord sent the angel to earth on this mission to light the world" said one of the apostles of the Mormon church in explaining to me the principles of its organization. "The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints is growing more rapidly than any other, and the conquest of the spiritual world will soon rest between our church and the Catholic church, but ours will prevail; has not the Catholic priesthood disobeyed God's first law to man, 'be fruitful and multiply and replenish the earth?'" Upon this injunction to our parents in Eden the Mormons base their belief in the divinity of polygamy. They claim that had

polygamy not been of divine command the Lord would not have "justified his servants, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob," who were polygamists. They hold, also, that Jesus Christ was a polygamist, and that He revealed this doctrine to the Prophet Joseph Smith, commanding him to abide by the law "as it was instituted before the foundation of the world," further charging that if the "covenant be rejected ye shall not enter into my glory." Upon this the Mormon creed was founded, the modern prophet claiming that after the advent of Jesus Christ all of the other churches apostatized from the true faith, else they would have adopted polygamy. This, it will be seen, is the rock upon which this socialistic-polygamous church is built, and if polygamy be abandoned the church would fall, as a power. The cardinal belief of Mormonism is that marriage is a religious institution and that the state has nothing to do with it; has no right to require a legal ceremony nor a right to divorce those whom God has united—as a marriage is for not only this life but for eternity.

With this belief firmly implanted, as of divine origin, it is not likely that the Mormons of Utah will forego their faith and practice at the command of any human law. Their early history shows that they have not done so, and it is not believed that they are doing so now. They have never renounced polygamy as a faith, and do not pretend that they have done so, or will do so. Its practice was only "suspended" by the "manifesto" of the president of the church. This was done as a ruse to gain statehood. The anti-polygamy law has been on the statute books a number of years, yet the church has never officially discountenanced the practice of polygamy until all previous efforts at statehood had failed. That they will abandon this "everlasting covenant" is not to be believed, for it would be a denial of their faith. No specified time was men-

ioned, however, and the "manifesto" can be revoked at any time the "prophet" has a "vision" commanding him to do so.

It is believed, and reasonably, that this had already been done. It is not necessary that a "manifesto" be made in public—or, rather, before the Gentile world. Important church ordinances are fulminated in the Temple, which no Gentile has ever entered, and whose secrets are sacredly kept. No state power, nor that of the United States army, could wrest the mysterious secrets from that doubly-guarded granite edifice. Here are kept the records of all Mormon marriages, and here the mystic ceremonies are performed, the oath of secrecy being administered to witnesses and participants. It will thus be seen how difficult it is to get legal testimony. As a Mormon denies the right of any power except his own church to administer an oath, he can swear to a falsehood with a clear conscience. Furthermore, behind him is the dreaded punishment of "blood atonement" or death, according to the statements of apostates.

With the statement of these facts the public may judge whether the Mormons have abandoned the principal belief upon which their church is based. They did not do so when "persecuted" and driven from place to place to this desert, and now that they have control of the state government it is not likely that they will abandon it. They regard the anti-polygamy law as another act of "persecution" and one calculated to strengthen the church. At present, all of the more prominent church officials are polygamists, and while they have not renounced their plural wives they claim that they have temporarily "put them away" in accordance with the church "manifesto." They, however, support their plural families, which is to their credit. It is also noticeable that the young men who are being

advanced in the church are becoming polygamists. While polygamy is a belief, not all members are polygamists in practice, mainly because of their inability to support more than one family. And another cause is attributed to their disloyalty to the church. No one may take a second wife unless authority has been granted, and the more zeal one shows the higher his advancement in the church. Polygamous husbands will become gods in the next world, in proportion to their number of wives, and the wives will become queens and rulers. Those who have not contracted plural marriages will become only angels, and servants to the rulers. It will thus be seen what a hold this alluring promise of power has over the ignorant mind, for about fifty per cent. of the converts in Utah and other sections are foreign immigrants, mainly of the lowest and most ignorant and superstitious classes. They are socialists from inclination and fanatical by teaching.

It is reasonable to presume that such ignorant people, the refuse of Europe, would blindly obey their spiritual masters. Most of them paupers, they were brought here at the expense of the church, and are held in a system of bondage similar to Spanish peonage, until they pay the debt. Notwithstanding the laws relative to the importation of paupers they are brought into this country by the Mormon Immigration Society, and from New York they are shipped to the various parts of the country where colonies are being planted and political power is most needed. By this means the Mormons hold the balance of power in Idaho, and for a number of years controlled the election of delegate in congress, and also controlled a recent election of a United States senator. They now hold the balance of power in Arizona, and hope to control New Mexico by the time that territory shall be admitted as a state.

Having complete control of Utah, immigration to this state is practically suspended—the immigrants being sent to other states and territories. By this means the Mormons are seeking to extend their political power, with a view of getting a controlling power in congress, and they hope to eventually become strong enough to influence a presidential election. It is with this view that they have recently sent such a large number of missionaries to the eastern states. And, when it is known that these missionaries work without salaries and pay their own expenses, it may be understood that they are extraordinarily zealous. It may also be stated that there is not a salaried position in the church. All serve without “purse or scrip,” but the revenues of the church are controlled by the few high officials, who are accountable to no other power.

Every member is required to pay into the church coffers one-tenth of his yearly gross earnings; hence this powerful organization has ample means for increasing its growth through immigrants from Europe, and in influencing legislation at Washington. The church is as closely organized as any political party. Each county in the state is called a “stake” and it is presided over by a president, who has two councilors. The county is divided into wards, and the wards are subdivided into precincts, each of the divisions of the organizations having a president and two councilors. Monthly reports are made from the precincts to the ward bishops and to the elders, and thence to the president of the church at Salt Lake. Those who are weak in the faith are “councilled” and indications of apostasy are met by threats of social and business ostracism, or “boycotting.” If this fails to check the waywardness of the brother, he is threatened with excommunication. This means not only social death but death

in the next world, or, rather, that he will not be resurrected. With such a strong hold upon the feeble minds of these simple people, steeped in superstition, it is easy to understand why the Mormon church remains so strong and united, notwithstanding the anti-polygamy laws. The church is an undemocratic and an un-American institution. It is foreign to our laws, immoral, antagonistic to Christianity, enslaves the mind, is subversive of liberty, and seeks to build up a theocratic government in a republic.

The Mormons have ever been rebellious, the spirit of hatred to the Gentile world and the American government dating from the expulsion of the then small community from Palmyra, New York. The doctrine of polygamy was taught there by Joseph Smith, its founder, who was regarded more as an adventurer and imposter than a clairvoyant or "prophet." From Kirtland, Ohio, they were driven to Missouri, and thence to Nauvoo, Illinois, where the false "prophet" was killed by the mob. Under the assumed leadership of the Apostle Brigham Young, who wrested the presidency from the heir of Joseph, they migrated to the Great Salt Lake Valley. But their objective point was California, which province they aimed to wrest from Mexico and establish an empire on the Pacific.

That this was the scheme of the founders of the church it is only necessary to cite a few historical facts in proof. Joseph Smith first enunciated the doctrine of territorial expansion, in connection with spiritual dominion, in a sermon in the Temple, in 1842, in which he said: "We should grasp all the territory we can. The South holds the balance of power; if we grasp Texas, we shall break the power of that slave-holding section." His scheme was to "grasp" Texas, free the slaves of the American settlers, and send them to Mexico. But, evidently fearing that his undertaking might

be too large, he changed his plans for that of a western empire. He cast his eyes upon Oregon, and again changed his plan, for that country, like Texas, was largely settled by Missourians, and those people above all others the Mormons most hated. In the meantime, the leading officials had petitioned the United States government for permission to raise one hundred thousand men for the "protection of people who wished to settle in Texas, Oregon, and other portions of the United States." Simultaneously, the church cabinet, or the twelve apostles, had dispatched a delegation to California to spy out the condition of the coveted land. At the time the Mormons numbered only about twenty-five thousand, including the women and children. The "Nauvoo Legion," of which the "prophet" was the lieutenant-general commanding, mustered about four thousand. The prophet, however, was sanguine of recruiting his army to the required number, as he had received encouragement from a number of prominent politicians who favored the conquest of Mexico, and at the same time deemed this the easiest way to get rid of the "troublesome Mormons." The "Little Giant," Stephen A. Douglas, favored the plan of their "Oregon empire," incidently stating that if his affairs were in a different shape he would likely cast his fortunes in the "magnificent plan." To the Mormon vote Douglas owed his elevation to congress, which may account for his friendly counsel. Later, Governor Ford of Illinois confidently advised Brigham Young to carry out the late prophet's scheme of a western empire, and to go to California, as the "Mexicans are weak."

At that time there were in California 6,000 Mexicans and about 150,000 unarmed, docile Indians. There were also about two hundred Americans mainly outlaws and adventurers. The Americans would have doubtless sided with any scheme to wrest California from Mexico

and when it is considered that the American conquest was made with a force numbering less than the "Nauvoo Legion" it may be presumed that the Mormons would have been successful. At that time the ships of France, Great Britain, and of the United States, were at anchor in San Francisco Bay, jealously watching each other's movements. This country and Great Britain, more particularly, were contending for the possession of the Pacific Coast, both were ready to seize the country, and Great Britain was already encroaching upon California's territory from the northwest.

The Mormon scheme of conquest was renewed by the offer to the general government of a battalion of the "Nauvoo Legion" for service in the war against Mexico, the government having anticipated the declaration of war by the "saints." Strangely, the government accepted this offer, notwithstanding the existence of the Mormon plot to found an empire on the Pacific Coast. The officials could not believe that the Mormons would undertake such a bold enterprise, or else did not fathom its purport. They accepted the offer of one thousand men "to make a dash into California and capture it for the United States" as a fine strategic movement. Simultaneous with the departure of this battalion overland, one thousand Mormons left New York by steamer for San Francisco. These were the first immigrants to arrive in California—the nucleus of the new empire. Incidentally, they brought a printing-press for the publication of the "official" organ of the government. Simultaneous with this concerted movement by land and sea, the "saints" began their exodus from Nauvoo to California. The apostolic delegation sent to spy out the coveted land had reported favorably, and the prophet, as he led his hosts out of the land of persecution, now had visions by day and dreams by night of a communistic empire beyond civilization.

The march of a thousand miles through a barren country, inhabited only by savages, was necessarily slow and accompanied with many dangers and deprivations. It occupied about six months, and when the "saints" arrived in the Great Salt Lake Valley they decided to tarry awhile to recuperate their wasted strength. Another delegation was sent to California to spy out the condition of affairs. But the Mormons were too late—the conquest of California had been made; the Americans were in possession, and the Mormon battalion upon which so much dependence was placed, had been disbanded. Hence the vision of a Pacific empire vanished, and the prophet now concluded to build his empire at the present Zion. Had he anticipated the government in the conquest of California, as proposed by the first prophet, our march of western empire would have been checked at least for a generation; perhaps longer, for it is to the discovery of gold that we owe the overthrow of the Mormon power in California. The disbanded Mormon soldiers had formed a colony at San Bernardino, in the South, while those emigrants who came by sea had settled in San Francisco, and were becoming as troublesome as they had been in the "states." But the influx of gold-seekers crushed their growing power, and, several years later during the "Mormon Rebellion," they were recalled to Utah to assist in the war against the United States. And thus was ended the Mormon scheme of the conquest of California.

The question is: How shall the growing power of the Mormon church be met? During the year 1898 the church membership was increased by forty thousand, and in the succeeding year they estimate an increase of sixty thousand. These are mainly immigrants, but a large per cent. is included in the states and territories above mentioned. The church was never stronger, numerically and financially, than it is now, and it is as

aggressive, at least in spirit, as it was in the days of their rebellion and attempts to establish an independent government. They believe it is their mission to rule the United States, and ultimately the world, both spiritually and temporally, uniting church and state, and they will work unceasingly to that end unless checked by some authority. Their growing power is a menace to this government, and even to civilization. Though surrounded by civilization they are not affected by it, but on the contrary stifle it by their contamination and poisonous teachings.

How shall this menacing power be controlled or suppressed? Will it require a constitutional amendment? And how can it be applied, if applied at all? One cannot be disfranchised or punished for his religious belief. And the Mormons choose to call the belief in polygamy a religious belief! True, an amendment disfranchising any one practising polygamy may be adopted, but a conviction must be had before any one could be included in its provisions. Convictions will be difficult so long as a Mormon sits on a jury. Southerners who rebelled against the government were disfranchised for known and proven acts, and acts which they did not deny when placed upon oath. It was not for their belief in the justness of their cause, but for what they did. A large per cent. of the Mormons believe in polygamy who have never practiced it. Would it be right to disfranchise those who merely believe in it as an article of faith, supposing that an amendment disfranchising Mormons should be adopted? Is belief a crime, even if expressed? If not, such an amendment would be in the nature of special legislation, for it would apply only to the militant portion of the churchmen. However, such an amendment would be of little effect, for marriage records would be as strictly guarded then as now. In order to adopt such an

amendment the state legislature must decide that Mormonism is not a religion. As polygamy is one of its articles of faith, in fact, the principal one, this would seem to be about the only way to suppress the growing evil, which is a menace to our moral and civil institutions, and unless it is checked may soon grow into a very dangerous power.

Such is the history of this militant theocracy. Its policy is the same now as when it defied the general government and proclaimed the "Independent State of Deseret."

TRUSTS AND SOCIAL PROGRESS

ALEXANDER H. M'KNIGHT

The economic question of all time is: How can wealth be made cheap and man dear? For wealth is the ladder by which man climbs from barbarism to civilization. The savage has few wants, and these are simple; they relate chiefly to physical existence. But as man advances toward civilization new wants arise and new efforts must be put forth to meet them; new wealth is needed, and more time for the improvement of his higher nature. Better means of production must be called into use.

A great stride forward was made when men began to use capital. As long as every one supplied his own wants by the labor of his own hands, there was little time for social advancement. When, however, it was found that more wealth could be produced by making tools and using them in the production of other wealth than if all the time were given to production without tools, men began to expend their labor in this direction. With the introduction of capital, represented by simple tools, came a division of labor. The whole industrial progress of the race has been marked by better tools, improved machinery, more minute divisions of labor, specialization of industries, and greater concentration of capital. These have resulted in more abundant and cheaper wealth, and this has made social progress possible.

Roughly speaking, in the production of wealth land is the material, man the agent, and capital the tool. Land to-day is the same in substance it has ever been. There is nothing to show that man is not essentially the same now that he was in the beginning. To be

sure, his wants have increased; where primitive men had one want we have a hundred to-day. But wants are the measure of the social man, not the productive. Of course, too, men of to-day are more skilful in the use of tools than were primitive men, and through organized effort they can produce a greater quantity of wealth than the sum total of their individual efforts. But without machinery very little organized effort would be possible. The truth is, therefore, that the great saving in the production of wealth has come by means of capital. Mental power plans and directs the production; but capital makes it possible for these plans and directions to be carried into execution. And since wealth is the *sine qua non* of social progress, it follows that whatever increases the efficiency of capital tends to promote the welfare of the human race.

The efficiency of capital may be increased in two ways,—by investment in improved machinery, and by more economic organization of industry. Profits constitute the prize for which capital works; and are realized when new machinery is substituted for old, or there is new organization and greater concentration of wealth in any productive enterprise. These steps are taken when the cost of production from any cause whatsoever—be it competition, higher wages, or what not—presses so closely on the price that there is little surplus margin, and profits must somehow be increased. Whether the change will take the form of improved machinery or greater concentration and more economic organization, or both, depends upon which gives promise of greater gain.

Since the beginning of the factory system, capital has tended to gather in greater and greater aggregations. The individual employer gave way to the partnership, the partnership to the corporation, and now the ordinary corporation is being superseded by the

trust. Concentration, too, is going on at an unprecedented pace; and the trusts are being assailed on every hand with the stock arguments of the past, whetted and sharpened, that have done service in opposing the factory system, corporations, and improved machinery. It is proper to inquire how much of sentiment and how much of sense there is in this popular denunciation of the trust.

There can be no appreciable social progress without wealth. Wealth above enough for a bare subsistence can be produced only by means of capitalistic enterprise. Capital will be used in production only as its investment promises a surplus. *Will it pay?* This is the question capital always asks. Whether it will pay depends upon the market; and the market depends upon the social and industrial condition of the masses. It is not enough, therefore, that the investment pay merely the capitalist. The laborer and the community must share the surplus. The capitalist's share comes as increased profits; the laborer's as higher wages; and the community's, of which both the capitalist and the laborer are a part, in lower prices.

If trusts pay the capitalist, pay the laborer, and pay the community, they are sound in economic principle, they are promoters of social progress.

That trusts increase profits is evident from the fact that capital continues to go into them. This needs no discussion. Capital is very timid, and always runs in the face of loss; it is never invested unless there is a reasonable chance of gain. But the majority of us are not capitalists; and the contention of most people is that profits are increased too much, that the whole of the surplus resulting from better organization is taken by capital, and none of it given to the laborer or the community.

The two matters of greatest concern to the laborer,

economically speaking, are higher wages and a shorter working day. What effects have large aggregations of capital in productive enterprises had on these? The rate of wages and hours of labor are a matter of record, and an examination will show how these have changed since the beginning of these large combinations.

Where hand labor is the rule and large combinations of capital are unknown, wages are low and the work-day is long. The Chinaman works for less and longer than does the German; and the German works longer and for less than does the Englishman or the American. England, where the factory system originated, and the United States, where we have the greatest combinations of capital, pay the highest wages and have the shortest working day. Investigation, too, shows that since 1860 the purchasing power of wages has increased most in those industries where the greatest concentration of capital has taken place, and also that in these industries the hours of labor are fewest. Shorter work-days and higher wages have followed the concentration of capital in productive enterprises. I am speaking of course of the general tendency, not of particular cases.

Have trusts reduced prices? Since 1860, the great machine era in the United States, some prices have advanced and some declined. With a very few exceptions, whenever an advance has been made, it has been in those products in whose production hand labor or small capital was employed. And it is right that the price of these products did advance. Wages are the principal item in their cost of production; and wages are determined by the laborer's cost of living, which should be on the increase. But while these prices have risen a much larger number have fallen, the total average fall in prices being about 4 per cent., together with a rise in wages of about 68 per cent.

But some one will ask, did not these lower prices, fewer hours of labor and higher wages come in spite of concentrated capital, and not on account of it? We must answer, no. It is undeniably true that some capitalists, like some people of every other class, are very short-sighted. As laborers have opposed the introduction of improved machinery, concentration of capital and other economies in the production of wealth, so have capitalists often opposed increase of wages and reduction in the hours of labor. There have been combinations of capital formed, too, to increase prices or to hold them at a certain point. It is not to be presumed, of course, that all capitalists, or even the greater part of them, are true philanthropists, and that they have introduced improved machinery and formed larger combinations of capital merely for the love of humanity. Their actuating motive is profits. But no combination can long retain all the profits of an industry. To attempt this is economic madness. The profits must be shared with the community, otherwise new capital will enter the field. And a slight reduction in price will often add many consumers to a market. This, while reducing the profit per unit, may greatly increase the total profits.

Shorter work-days give laborers time for social improvement, and this tends to develop new wants and to make them greater consumers. Some capitalists recognize these facts, and act upon them. Doubtless there are many more who do not. So we may say that as a rule lower prices, fewer hours of labor and higher wages have been forced upon capitalists. Yet the fact remains that the concentration of capital in productive enterprises has made it possible for prices to be lowered, hours of labor to be reduced and wages to be raised.

Our chief industrial danger does not lie in the trust principle, but in its abuse. Capital has its function,

and that function is to give the community cheaper wealth. Capitalists do not always recognize this, however. Some trusts are formed with almost no regard to economic principle. Mere speculators try to unite the productive enterprises of an industry for the present "pull" there is in it, not for the steady gains that result from more efficient management. "Booms" are started, and honest men are induced to invest their money in that which cannot pay. Too much is paid for the special services rendered in forming an organization; the earning capacity of the concern is too small, and higher prices are forced upon the public to pay dividends on "watered" stock. This short-sighted madness on the part of capitalists is largely responsible for the bitter opposition against trusts, and in a measure it justifies the opposition. Capital has a right to profits, but these should come from the storehouse of nature, not from the pockets of other men. There is little wonder that the voice of the public is raised against those organizations that seek to make their gain by sharp manipulations instead of by exploiting nature. Only let us not make our denunciations too sweeping. We should seek to retain the trust principle, while eliminating the evils and abuses that have grown up with it.

EDITORIAL CRUCIBLE

PRESIDENT LOW of Columbia University is not by education or profession an economist, but he has a wonderful amount of sound economic sense. In a recent address he told the labor unions of New York city that he believed in combinations; that they are not only inevitable but are an advantage to the human race. Corporations and trade unions are each as necessary as the other. He recognized that both forms of organization make mistakes, but the only way to find out the limitations of either is to try it. This is good advice. Nothing is quite so unbecoming in a person pretending to a knowledge of industrial and social forces as to join in the pessimistic prediction that our institutions are going to be subverted by organization, either of capital or of labor. President Low's service to wholesome public opinion is worth more than a thousand dawdling speeches about the evils of trusts and the dangers of trade unions.

THE PROPOSITION of President McKinley to adopt free trade in Porto Rico, the logic of which of course is free trade with all the other new possessions, is creating considerable stir among agricultural producers. The wool growers are up in arms, the tobacco growers of Connecticut are protesting, and the producers of agricultural products generally are likely promptly to get in line. It is a little difficult to ken the motive which induced President McKinley to take this step. It can hardly be that he has become a convert to free trade, nor can it be that he is oblivious to the political influence of the farmers, and most surely it cannot be that he can count upon securing another term without them. Then what is the force behind the throne in

this case? The logic of his economic convictions is deadly against it. The interests of a great group of his political friends, the farmers, are against it. There is no particular industrial interest of any other class that requires it. Then why did he do it? Why?

IT IS interesting to note the respectful tone that the *Springfield Republican*, *New York Times* and other free-trade journals are assuming toward Mr. Robert P. Porter since he announced himself in favor of free trade with Porto Rico. Mr. Porter was the first editor of the *New York Press*, which was brought into existence specially as a protectionist organ. He was superintendent of the census of 1890, but he was so suspected of partisanship that the work of the census office was challenged and berated at every point, especially by the class of papers represented by the *Springfield Republican*. They insisted that he was neither reliable in facts nor honest in reasoning; that he was a bluffing blunderer who would draw figures and make statements regardless of fact; in short, that he was a cheap political servant whose statements on either matters of fact or public policy were of no account. And now, all of a sudden, without the leopard having changed a single spot, he is cited and almost fawned upon as a conclusive authority!

THE FUSS first created by large headlines in the daily papers about the secretary of the treasury depositing public funds in the banks is one of the straws that shows how unintelligent and disingenuous is much of the discussion in the daily press. The act of Secretary Gage is now seen to be sound public policy, which ought to be an established usage instead of depending on the good sense of an individual official. The same thing was done by Secretary Manning and also Secre-

tary Fairchild, and it reflects credit on the financial statesmanship of those gentlemen. In no other country does the government keep its revenues locked up from circulation. Unless the government's funds can in some way be put in circulation, every increase of the public revenue acts as a contraction of the currency, which is detrimental to business. There are only two ways in which this evil can be avoided. One is by placing the government funds on deposit in the banks and so letting them become a part of the circulating volume, or for the secretary of the treasury to buy bonds at a premium, which means that the government periodically makes a present to every holder of bonds in order to prevent currency contraction. The attack on Secretary Gage has been narrow and partisan, and if the attitude of the democratic press and party in congress on this subject may be taken to represent its position on the subject it demonstrates unfitness to be entrusted with the nation's finances.

IT APPEARS that in the vote of the senate committee on the resolution refusing to seat ex-Senator Quay, Senator Burrows had the honor of giving the casting vote. By this vote Senator Burrows made a real contribution to clean politics, even though it may cost him some political friendships. If the senate sustains this it will not debar Mr. Quay from the senatorship, but it will send him back to the people of Pennsylvania for endorsement before he can occupy a seat in the senate. It is time that high ground was taken by the United States senate on this subject. The case of Senator Clark, from Montana, is of a similar kind. It may not be clear that Senator Clark bought the votes of legislators, but it is clear beyond a doubt that money was used in a scandalous fashion in the contest which resulted in his election. In such matters corrup-

tion should not be given the benefit of the doubt. Until a state can elect a United States senator without surrounding the proceedings with corruption and debauchery it should remain unrepresented in the senate. Clean politics should have the benefit of all doubts. It should become thoroughly established that the road to the United States senate cannot be paved with corrupting gold; that the members of that body shall be the honest choice of the state legislatures. If both Mr. Quay and Mr. Clark are sent back to their respective states to try again, it will do much to clear the air, lift the tone and sustain the reputation of the United States senate.

"That was a striking epigram which Senator Wolcott made in the senate the other day . . . : 'the rich are growing richer and the poor are growing richer also.' The form of statement is, so far as we know, Senator Wolcott's own."—*New York Times*.

REALLY THIS is good enough for the funny column. The Colorado senator probably has no objection to the *New York Times* seriously proclaiming this as original, but Mr. Wolcott would hardly want to be suspected of joining in that assumption. But the *Times* even thinks that this epigram was suggested by the plaint that "the rich are growing richer and the poor are growing poorer." Come to think of it that may have been so, but what a power of insight to see the connection! With the exception of the period of the "silver fever" Senator Wolcott has always been a sensible man, and it is not surprising that, in replying to the hackneyed pessimism of the senator from South Dakota, he should say what sensible men have been saying ever since modern industrial progress began. Economists, statesmen, publicists, sociologists, sensible editors and intelligent students of political and economic history have not merely been asserting but have been proving in a hundred ways that it is fundamental in modern industry

that as the wealth of the rich increases the poverty of the poor diminishes. The claim that the poor grow poorer as the rich grow richer is the plaint only of the ill-informed, unpractical pessimist. In saying: "The poor are growing richer also," Senator Wolcott was but voicing a truism with which everybody except perhaps the senator from South Dakota and the *New York Times* is familiar.

IN A RECENT address in Denver, President Hadley of Yale is credited with saying: "When a man operates a trust against the public good, do not invite him to dinner. Do not call on his family. Disqualify him socially. When you make a man understand that by doing certain things he is disqualified socially and condemned by public opinion you have set in motion the strongest force in the business or political world."

If correctly reported President Hadley is teaching a very bold and may-be dangerous doctrine of boycott. To ostracize everybody whose industrial methods or political policy you do not like would soon mean social warfare. If President Hadley's policy is to be adopted toward all trust magnates, about every successful business man will be under the social ban, for nearly everything is a trust nowadays that is large and successful. Does Dr. Hadley really expect to be taken seriously? Was he serving notice on the Rockefellers and Carnegies that Yale would spurn their polluted millions, or was he temporarily dealing out Denver economics? Dr. Hadley should know that in entering this field he is trespassing upon the Bryan reservation where he is sure to meet ignominious defeat. In the production of this brand of economic teaching Mr. Bryan is a past-master expert against whom Dr. Hadley could not hope successfully to compete. It would seem to be much safer to stay in the sphere of normal economic ethics where

he has already acquired an enviable reputation and rendered high scientific service.

THE ACTION of the New York rapid transit commissioners in giving out the contract for construction of the tunnel is a decisive step toward accomplishing the long delayed rapid transit for Greater New York. The subject has been discussed and discussed until the people are weary of waiting and anxious for action. Happily the commission is composed of men in whom the public has great confidence. The awarding of the contract is accepted as a wise disposition of the matter. The tunnel is to be built by contract for the city. This will keep in the hands of the city the ownership of the tunnel, while the right of way and operation of the road can be leased to the railroad corporation that will give the best results to the public.

New York city has seemed to move more slowly in the matter of local transit than almost any other city, but it is because it has insisted upon the best possible method. It refused to accept the overhead trolley in its streets, and consequently had horse cars much longer than many other cities. In putting its telegraph wires underground and insisting that whatever trolley wires came should be under the surface also, New York forced the capitalists to develop and perfect an underground trolley system which has now become an established fact, and is giving the metropolis the best trolley service in the country. In the delay of the underground long-distance rapid transit it is to be hoped and reasonably expected that the Greater New York will finally have the best rapid transit system in existence. When that is satisfactorily completed and the other systems brought to the standard of the best that is now in use, New York city will be equipped with better and cheaper transportation than any city in the world.

DO WE NEED A NATIONAL UNIVERSITY ?

W. F. EDWARDS*

The need of a "National University" seems to me to depend on the solution of two principal questions (1) Do we need a university with more and better equipment (material) than any of our state or other universities do or probably can furnish us? (2) Do we need a university that shall be widely different in its work and aims from any of our state or other universities? Both questions would be answered in the affirmative, it seems to me, by all competent judges, but with a reservation, in many cases, concerning the advisability of establishing such an institution depending on congressional appropriations for its support. It would be and has been said that congress would so interfere with the working of a university depending on congressional appropriations for its support that there would not be the desired freedom of expression of thought allowed, and that therefore the university would become to some extent the mouthpiece of congressmen instead of the unfettered exponent of truth. However, if it can be shown that we need a university differing from those now in existence in the United States and that it requires a national support and would be of national benefit, it would seem as if some way could be found to eliminate the bad influences that congress might desire to bring to bear upon it. Congress has shown no great desire, so far as I am aware, to interfere with experiment stations and industrial education resulting from the "Act of 1862," the "Hatch Act" of 1888, and

*Since writing this paper, August, 1899, I have learned that the National Educational Association has appointed a committee to consider this question.

the "Morrill Bill" of 1890, or with the Smithsonian Institution. As in these instances congress would have done its whole duty toward a properly organized university when it had passed an act giving continuous support and a proper organization to the institution.

The most potent reason for a "National University" is that we need an institution with more intellectual freedom and much higher and broader scholarship and greater facilities for and incentive to research than we now have in any of our universities.

It is a notorious fact that our state universities, even the best of them, like those of Pennsylvania, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota and California, are not noted for the broad and high scholarship of the members of their faculties. There are some really scholarly men among them, but for the most part they are specialists of the modern practical type or are men with some knowledge of many subjects but no really high scholarship in a broad sense of that term. Doubtless there has been and will continue to be an improvement in the scholarly attainments of the members of the faculties of these state institutions, and yet there are many conditions that seriously interfere with the requisite advantages necessary for the fostering of the highest and broadest scholarship in these institutions.

The conditions that have interfered with progressive scholarship in these institutions in the past are still well represented in the state universities (so called) in some of the younger states of the West. Some of these universities if not all of them began somewhat on the plan of a state high school wherein instruction in Latin, Greek and mathematics is the only instruction that is of higher grade than that of a good high school of the eastern states. Philosophy is represented in these embryonic universities but is ridiculous to the extreme. These universities of the younger states manage to print pre-

tentious catalogues with a faculty of men and women with A.M., Ph.D., or LL.D. or a combination of letters standing for several degrees after their names, the one having the greatest number of degrees being quite often the most inferior member of the faculty.

In several of these new states there is no "mill tax" or other permanent predetermined income to the university, which necessitates the making of preliminary budgets of necessary or desirable expenses for a two-year period following the next meeting of the legislature of the state. These budgets usually go into the hands of the legislators as a portion of a biennial report of the board of regents to the governor of the state concerning the condition of the university. In these new states there are so many necessary state expenses such as those required for prisons, asylums, state officers, including land commissioners, etc., that it is difficult to give much financial support to the university. Then there are the normal schools, the agricultural college and school of mines all clamoring for more funds. The budgets of these various educational institutions usually represent more than is expected, it being not infrequently the case that twice as much as is expected or needed is asked for on the assumption that the legislators desire to show to their constituency that they are very economical in their dealings with state institutions. This leads to all sorts of cutting of appropriations, political trading and threatened vetoes by the governor, which causes a state of unrest in the university (and other state schools) that is highly detrimental to the best interests of the university and does not invite talent to seek positions in its faculty.

As soon as the high schools of the state begin to offer work practically parallel to that of the university the university becomes ambitious, of necessity, and wishes to add to its enrolment by attaching profes-

sional courses of study and by inducements for the higher degrees. Unless the agricultural college with its annex of a school of mechanic arts, having the usual attachments, is a part of the university there is a strong desire on the part of the university to establish courses in mechanical and civil engineering with the attendant divisions of mining, electrical, sanitary, metallurgical, architectural, marine, etc., engineering as a means of overshadowing the agricultural college. This latter school, however, usually leads them a merry chase in this respect. The normal schools for a like reason induce the university to establish weak courses for teachers which lead to a "normal diploma," or to a special degree usually designated as the degree of "Bachelor of Pedagogy."

All this places in the hands of a small faculty numerous classes in a great variety of subjects. A professor of "Natural Science" may give all the instruction in physics, chemistry, botany, zoology, entomology physiology, etc. with the aid of one student assistant for the various laboratory courses. A professor of mathematics may give all the instruction in algebra, geometry, trigonometry, calculus, theory of equations, theory of determinants, analytical geometry, surveying, civil engineering and astronomy. In one case coming to my notice the professor of mathematics, in addition to all this, with the aid of one student assistant undertook to give all the courses on pedagogy including a course on the history of education (and in addition, strange as it may seem, studied law and wrote text books).

It is evident that an instructor with so many subjects to teach cannot have time or energy for anything else than the conducting of class exercises even if he is well trained at the start. It is not infrequently the case that the instructor is called on to teach a sub-

ject which he studies with his class. He keeps two or three lessons ahead of them and has over them the advantage of more years of experience. It is needless to state that in such a case the instructor must put himself in the position of those teachers in our grammar and high schools who believe their functions are largely represented in assigning and listening to the recitation of lessons from a text-book. If only these young universities could have limited all of their professional work for a time to the training of teachers with a liberal academic preparation therefor, how much more would really have been accomplished in the way of benefiting the state from an educational point of view.

It is however too late to talk of this feature from any other than a historical point of view for the universities are now begun, and have the usual number of professional courses begun or under way. These professional courses are a means of pleasing those who are clamoring for a "practical" education, and of getting the druggists, lawyers, doctors, engineers, etc., to "work for" the university appropriations. Even with all this the university is fortunate if its friends in the legislature do not have to concede much to the other state schools and colleges, which amounts to the same thing as political trading on these various schools.

In many if not in all of the older state universities there are evidences of the result of this method of procedure. There are elderly men in the faculty who have done their utmost under the circumstances but who are out of touch with modern developments. There are all kinds of professional departments and schools, usually with a low requirement for admission, each striving to make a showing of the number of students enrolled. Among these may be found departments of engineering wherein "pure" physics is considered of little value; departments of chemistry giving courses

in pharmaceutical, medical, iron and steel, soap, etc., chemistry without much regard to general chemistry or chemistry as a science; departments of law running to moot courts and the details of practice instead of the study of jurisprudence in the light of advancing civilization; medical departments devoted to "isms" and practice instead of the science of medicine and surgery; schools of pharmacy wherein boys and girls scarcely fitted to be admitted to the high schools struggle through two years of cramming to pass examinations and become druggists; schools of dental surgery that have as a principal function that of teaching how to plug teeth. There are departments of philosophy wherein the students may still study philosophy without paying much attention to the study of nature or mankind, and departments of political and social science wherein students study these subjects with little regard to the great historical movements of the past history of civilization or social progress.

It will be seen that there is everything to interfere with higher education from the point of view of more intelligent and progressive citizenship. There is also still much to hinder the intellectual development of the members of the university faculties. The professors and instructors in the departments of literature, science and the liberal arts teach their particular subjects in all of these various departments and in addition attempt work in the post-graduate departments of the university. No wonder that the "post-graduate" work in so many of our institutions represents time rather than real research. It not infrequently happens that a student who has devoted his time to the study of Greek and Latin while studying for the baccalaureate degree, studies the elements of some science for the master degree in order to increase his chances of getting a position to teach in the high schools. In

universities offering several baccalaureate degrees the student sometimes chooses his work so as to be able to get two degrees in five years for a like reason. All this does not tend to scholarship, neither does it do much to improve citizenship generally, this last being especially true since it is only in baccalaureate sermons and commencement addresses that the student's added responsibility as a citizen is impressed upon him.

The universities which do not depend on state support, Johns Hopkins, Columbia, Harvard, Yale, Cornell, Chicago, Stanford and Clark, with the exception of Clark, are like the state universities in that they are a sort of admixture of college and university wherein the principal function is training rather than research. However, these institutions can do more and better work in their post-graduate departments than can be done in the state universities. Their faculties have had a better opportunity for progress than have the faculties of the state universities.

What is needed is an institution where training shall be a minimum, and research of a high order shall be a maximum. Clark University is on what seems to me to be very good lines, but it is handicapped financially and otherwise.

It is the fashion of students who wish to become teachers in our universities to go to Europe, usually to some part of Germany, to study for a time. All this is good in its way, but it does not supply the deficiency in the way that a properly constituted university could. It is also an admission of the need of a university differing from ours. We ought to have an institution of such a character that Europeans would find it advantageous to come to it now and then to carry on a research.

A "national university" could be of use to our consular service. President Angell, in a paper en-

titled "Consular and Administrative Reform,"* says: "Some important changes should be made in our consular service in those countries (of the Orient). . . . To discharge the duties of the office successfully one should have had a special training, and should be allowed a considerable degree of permanency in his position. . . . His duties are not partisan. For the most part they can hardly be called political. In the east they are judicial and commercial. He should therefore have an acquaintance with business methods and at least a fair knowledge of law. It would always be most advantageous for him to be familiar with the language of the country in which he is stationed. . . . There is absolutely no encouragement for a scholarly young American to learn Chinese, Japanese, Turkish, or Arabic in the hope of receiving permanent appointment as interpreter and perhaps ultimately as consul. The consequence is that generally our consuls themselves, ignorant of the language of the country to which they are sent, are obliged to depend on natives of that country for interpreters."

It would be no part of the functions of such a university to give an acquaintance with business methods as such or to train persons to a speaking knowledge of languages or to furnish a fair knowledge of law as it is ordinarily done in our state universities. However, it would be within the province of such an institution to have departments dealing with the peoples and their doings, past and present, of all countries with which we have considerable dealing, for the purpose of studying broadly the history of civilization as well as for practical benefits. Among the students of these departments and those making a special study of international and constitutional law would doubtless be some who would look forward to a career in our con-

* The *Michigan Alumnus*, February, 1899.

sular service if any considerable degree of permanence could be assured by our practice.

Such subjects as anthropology, ethnology, ethnography, etc., are not adequately treated in any of our universities and could well be made a prominent feature of a "national university."

Thus one could go on to show other needs, but enough has been indicated to show that we need a university differing from all other universities now in existence in the United States. It does not matter so much whether it is a "national university" depending on congressional appropriations for its support or a university with sufficient private endowment. The essential features are sufficient financial support, intellectual freedom, and a limited number of students chosen by a competent tribunal from the best talent in the country. The principal aim should be that of contributions to and diffusion of knowledge.

The history of the Smithsonian Institution shows how much can be done in this way even with very limited means. An increase in the functions and departments of this institution with the necessary financial support would probably be all that would be necessary in order to make this institution answer every purpose. The name "national university" is immaterial and the already familiar name would do quite as well. The Congressional Library and National Museum as parts of such institution would make up the necessary equipment.

Congressional appropriations for the support of such an institution ought not to present any great difficulty if once it is clear that such an institution would be beneficial to the people of the United States. The government is spending now upward of one and one-half million of dollars a year as a result of the "Hatch Act" of 1888 and the "Morrill Bill" of 1890 for experi-

ment stations and industrial education which in my opinion are not of nearly so much benefit to the people as such a university would be. Moreover, the experiment stations might come to be directed by men who have shown special fitness by their researches in this university. Indeed, the stations could be used as occasion offered for carrying on special researches under the direction of the university which might result in making these stations of more value than they, many of them at least, are at present, and thus increase the efficiency of these practical institutions.

I believe that an essential part of the expense of such a university should be represented by a number of scholarships equal to that of the whole membership of the university and might altogether make upward of a thousand, and should vary from say ten thousand dollars for a general director to five hundred dollars for beginners. The five-hundred-dollar scholarships might be say one thousand in number and could be distributed among the various departments. They should only be given to persons who are between say twenty-five and thirty-five years of age and who have a broad foundation such as is represented in the best college courses in the country and who have in addition shown some special ability in research from a scholarly point of view. The average college or university thesis could not usually be considered as evidence of such ability. Between the five-hundred-dollar scholarships and that of the director might be say one hundred one-thousand-dollar scholarships to be given to persons who have held five-hundred-dollar scholarships and who have shown such ability in certain directions that the faculty has placed them on special research; fifty two-thousand-five-hundred-dollar scholarships to be given to able men who wish to travel and conduct researches on subjects approved by the faculty. Of these scholarships some

might be granted to properly qualified men to go as attachés without pay to some of our consuls to learn the language of that country and to report on some special investigation concerning the people of the country; and about twenty-five scholarships of five thousand dollars each to be given to men of great ability who are not less than thirty-five or more than forty-five years of age and who shall not hold office after the age of sixty years, to be known as departmental directors and who with the director should constitute the faculty of the university.

I imagine I hear some one cry out against using public money for scholarships. Are not the salaries of the workers in the experiment stations of the same nature and are they not paid for a like purpose? In the experiment stations men are employed by the year to carry on experiments for the public good.

It might be unwise to attempt to start all the scholarships at once as it might also be to try to make a full-fledged university at the start. However, it would be necessary to start the university on a basis that would insure confidence from the very start. For it to be required to begin on a niggardly allowance and to drag itself upward as so many of our state universities have done would be to thwart the institution in accomplishing what is desired of it. If it could be begun by an appropriation of say five hundred thousand dollars, to be increased say fifty thousand dollars a year until a maximum of two million dollars a year is reached, it seems to me this would be a good way to "finance" such an institution. The appropriations should be made in such a way that portions could be put aside to accumulate for suitable buildings or other proper expenses.

The building up of a library and museum that should be the equal of any in the world in connection

with the university would be a legitimate part of its business, and would go far toward determining that the proper place for it is the vicinity of the National Capital; and also that the enlargement of the functions and the work of the Smithsonian Institution is a good way to make such a university. The Smithsonian Institution is already widely and favorably known by means of "contributions to knowledge" and "miscellaneous collections," and the practice of exchanging these volumes for the transactions of libraries and scientific societies. I am not aware of anything in the bequest of James Smithson or the organization of the Smithsonian Institution itself that is incompatible with this suggested enlargement of its functions and work.

While the enlarged institution and the various scientific bureaus of the government might be mutually beneficial, it seems to me that these bureaus and stations should always be entirely separated from the Smithsonian Institution, or rather that the Smithsonian Institution should never include them as an organic part of itself.

In conclusion I will suggest that congress and those who are interested in a "national university" would probably be greatly relieved of a grievous burden if some of the hundred-times millionaires who are retiring from active business life to spend their fortunes for the benefit of mankind could see that to establish a university on the lines indicated in this paper would afford them an opportunity of spending fifty millions of dollars at once, and of building unto themselves an everlasting monument that would be known in two hemispheres wherever civilization is sufficiently advanced to recognize the value of higher education.

CIVIC AND EDUCATIONAL NOTES

For Civic Progress

Public Policy, until recently published as *The Other Side*, is an interesting little Chicago magazine edited by Allen Ripley Foote and devoted to civic problems. Its object is educational and its spirit progressive, and, in view of the popular trend toward experiments in municipal socialism, we are glad to find in its statement of principles the following: "The design is so to instruct popular thought that political action will favor individual enterprise and industries springing from private initiative and carried on by private management."

Correspondence Schools

Education by correspondence and home study, although always subject to certain rigid limitations, is growing in importance. The field for possible work in this direction is by no means fully occupied yet. It can never take the place of direct instruction in class-rooms, but it does supplement courses of education that have been cut off too early by force of circumstances. The majority of our young people are prevented from getting beyond the common school, or at most the high school. The popular impression is that work of this sort must necessarily be of a somewhat "light reading" nature, at any rate nothing more severe than the courses required by the Chautauqua system, for example. This is not entirely correct. There is a correspondence school in Scranton, Pennsylvania, enrolling about one hundred and thirty thousand students and dealing entirely in technical, scientific subjects. It gives sixty separate courses, conducted by a corps of 226 professors and assistants. These courses range all the way from arithmetic to civil engineering, and indicate a surprisingly

broad range of possibilities for this method of instruction.

The correspondence plan, combined with periodical literature features and local classes or clubs in different communities, is especially well adapted for courses in economics, sociology and public policy, such as are offered by the Institute of Social Economics.

**Prosperity
and School
Enrolment**

Dr. Harris, in a preliminary statement to his annual report for 1897-98, as United States Commissioner of Education, mentions the increase in enrolment in private schools as one of the signs of the return of business prosperity. "The aggregate enrolment in the common schools (those supported by public taxation)" he says, "exceeded the enrolment of previous years by the large sum of 390,841. The grand total in all the schools, elementary, secondary, and higher, public and private, for the year was 16,687,643. . . . This, compared with the aggregate for the year 1896-97, shows an increase of 432,550. The previous year (1897) there was evidence of large comparative decrease in the attendance on private schools, a proof that the long-continued business depression had taken effect to cause a transfer of a large number of pupils from private schools to the free public schools. But the year 1897-98 brings evidence of the return of business prosperity in the fact of a slight increase of private schools as compared with a deficit the year before. A little more than one-fifth of the entire population was enrolled in school. The total amount of schooling received per individual on an average for the whole United States, on the basis of the returns for 1898, is five years of two hundred days each. Some states average nearly seven years' schooling for their inhabitants, and some states fall as low as two and a half years."

The attendance at colleges and universities increased by nearly 4,000, while during 1896-97 there was a falling off as compared with the previous year.

**A National
University**

Mr. Edwards makes out a strong argument in his plea for a national university, published in this number. The proposition has attracted the interest and enthusiasm of numerous groups of educators and public men during the entire century. Probably it originated with Washington, who left a \$25,000 fund for a national university, but even to-day sentiment is as much divided as ever on the subject. It is strongly urged against it that many of our privately-endowed universities are developing departments and lines of work which are more and more removing the need for a national university.

Nevertheless, no university not situated in or near Washington can furnish the opportunities that an institution at the national capital would have at its command. A national university would be chiefly for research rather than for instruction of pupils, and the numerous departments of the government, carrying on a wide range of scientific experiments and investigations at vast expense, supply opportunities nowhere else available. As a member of an association devoted to this movement expressed it: "Our national university already exists in fact, waiting only organization and the coordination of all educational auxiliaries." Mr. Edwards' point that, with such an institution, the several thousand Americans who are pursuing scientific researches in foreign countries might find even superior opportunities at home, is a strong one; but more important than anything else is the psychological effect upon the whole educational atmosphere and standards in this country that a real national university, capable of keeping our own advanced scholars at home and attracting foreign scholars here, would create.

**Educational
Unification in
New York**

The movement to combine and simplify the two systems of educational supervision in New York state has developed into a very lively factional contest. The real point of difference is simply whether, in the organization of the new department of education, room shall be left for the encroachment of party politics or whether the system shall remain free from political influence in accordance with the traditions of the regents of the university.

The unification commission appointed by the governor to consider this whole matter submitted a report about the middle of December. It recommended that a new "Department of Education" be created, to absorb all the functions both of the present Department of Public Instruction and the Board of Regents. These two bodies have heretofore been a source of needless expense and no little clashing of authority, because they have been covering much the same field and duplicating all the work of inspection, examinations, etc. Under the commission's plan, the Board of Regents is to become the legislative body of the new Department of Education, and a chancellor is to be appointed at a salary of \$10,000 a year to act as the executive head of the department. A number of bureaus for administrative purposes are created, and seventy years is set as the retiring age of a regent.

The general outlines of this plan are all right, but the point at issue is the manner of selecting the chancellor. He, in practical experience, will be the real administrator of the state's educational system. Four of the commissioners favor having the first chancellor appointed by the governor, with confirmation by the senate, for the term of eight years; succeeding chancellors to be elected by the regents. The other three commissioners, however, urge that it is of primary impor-

tance to have the first chancellor elected by the regents. They argue that, if the first chancellor is appointed by the governor and the senate, that very important prerogative will never be allowed to pass into any other hands. In other words, if the regents do not elect the first chancellor they will never elect any chancellor and the administration of our educational system will pass under direct political control. It is not to be supposed that an unfit man would be appointed by the present governor; but Mr. Roosevelt is an exception, not the rule, in New York's gubernatorial chair. Even Governor Roosevelt has no free hand when senatorial confirmation is required,—witness the struggle to remove Mr. Payn and select his successor as superintendent of insurance.

The legislature is to pass upon the plan. Will it really decide to put away this temptation of political control of the public schools? The legislature already has the power of electing the members of the Board of Regents. They hold office for life, and, during the whole 115 years of the history of the university, the regents have been men of the highest character and ability. To leave with them as heretofore the choice of their executive or managing officer would be the safest guaranty of the sort of an administration we want for the schools; not to be compared, at any rate, with a plan which looks toward putting our educational system into the political grab-bag.

THE OPEN FORUM

This department belongs to our readers, and offers them full opportunity to "talk back" to the editor, give information, discuss topics or ask questions on subjects within the field covered by GUNTON'S MAGAZINE. All communications, whether letters for publication or inquiries for the "Question Box," must be accompanied by the full name and address of the writer. This is not required for publication, if the writer objects, but as evidence of good faith. Anonymous correspondents are ignored.

LETTERS FROM CORRESPONDENTS

Division of School Work

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—I have read the article on "Better Division of Labor in Schools," by W. F. Edwards, in your October issue. There is one point which I fear is fatal to his scheme, and which, it seems, he has entirely overlooked. It is the matter of arranging a program that will accommodate such pupils as advance beyond their grade or fall behind. We have tried just such department work as is outlined in the article mentioned, but find that it is only practicable when pupils are required to keep up with their classes, which is the very evil that Mr. Edwards is striking at. Three of our five buildings in Fresno are well arranged for carrying out the ideas expressed in this article, and I should not hesitate to give the plan a thorough test if the matter of arrangement of program could be explained.

C. L. MCLANE,

City Supt. Schools, Fresno, Cal.

Relation of Cost to Price

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—In the course in social economics, in your *Lecture Bulletin*, Prof. Gunton's lecture on value

or price is clarifying. Much that is useless and confusing in writings on economic subjects is cut away by his sensible and true definition and exposition.

If it is permitted to subscribers, who cannot be present in person, to criticize or make queries, I would ask the privilege of securing further information by way of taking exception to his basic position that "cost of production is the condition that really fixes the price."

In times of slack demand, when the supply largely exceeds the demand, or, as we say, "in times of depression," cost of production does fix the price quite largely. It does so because the factor of demand is comparatively inactive, and the other factor, cost of production, is prominently at the front. When demand is light, only those producers who have developed production to the point of highest efficiency and lowest cost can keep in continuous operation without loss. The lowest cost of production is *then* the measure of the price possibly to a degree, as a more prominent factor.

Not so when demand is active and the immediate supply inadequate. The cost of production is then a factor of little weight. I might ask, what is it that Prof. Gunton refers to as the cost of production? For there is a vast difference between different manufacturing plants producing the same articles, in respect to cost of production. In times of excessive demand and short supply, such as the present, plants of the least efficiency and highest productive cost are put into operation,—plants which had been virtually abandoned during times of depressed demand, and yet this operation is highly profitable above even their uneconomical plane. At such times the cost of production of the best plants and that of the poorest have no effect upon price whatever. The one all-absorbing factor is the

scarcity of supply, the excess of demand—the old law of supply and demand. In such seasons the low-cost producers pile up profits which carry them through the hard times, when lowest cost of production is the one sustaining factor acting upon prices, and when, in fact, even that does not sustain, but plants continue to operate for years at prices that are actually below their cost of production. At both ends of the scale the influence of the great law of supply and demand sweeps away and overwhelms the factor of productive cost. Of course, the lessening of productive cost in the long run is a permanent factor in the gradually diminishing average of prices; but Prof. Gunton's discussion of price surely intends to cover the question of the vicissitudes of price as affected by all its factors.

ROBERT HALLAM MUNSON, Bay Mills, Mich.

[The points you raise are covered in detail in Prof. Gunton's supplementary lecture on value, which appeared in the *Lecture Bulletin* of January 6th. In this it is explained that by cost of production is meant the cost of regularly producing and furnishing the *most expensive portion* of the supply required by the market. Costs being different for different plants, as you say, all those who can produce at less expense than the dearest group get the difference in profits, prices being uniform.

In times of great demand new sources of supply are sought out, and if these are more costly to work prices will rise; if not, the larger production may actually be cheaper and prices fall instead of rise. In either case the variations follow changes in the cost of production. This is clearly brought out, by the way, in the article in our January number on "The Cost of Raw Materials," by H. M. Chance, the practical mining and engineering expert.]

QUESTION BOX

City Government Problems

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—I am a student and wish to have your opinion on four points regarding municipal government:

First: Is home rule imperative? Second: Should the mayor's appointments be confirmed by a council? Third: Have there ever been any successful city governments where the mayor was not free to appoint? Fourth: How may municipalities become non-partisan?

C. H. HOWARD, Park View, Mo.

First: No; home rule is not imperative, but it is undoubtedly true that it should be encouraged as leading to a superior form of democratic government. Home rule for large municipalities, and indeed for all municipal governments, is preferable to state rule, because the problems of municipal government relate directly and for the most part exclusively to things affecting the home and immediate interests of the people, such as sanitation, education and local public improvements. Of all of this the people of the city who are to be directly affected by the policy and who have also to pay for whatever is done are the best judges. Moreover, municipal home rule is likely to result in the policies being determined by healthier political methods.

Second: If the administrative departments of the city government were purely of an executive nature the mayor might well be left free to make his appointments without interference, as is practically the case with the president's cabinet. But if, as in New York city, each of the various bureaus and departments is practically legislative and executive all in one, making and

carrying out its own policies, then the common council ought to have a hand in appointing these bureaus. Perhaps, indeed, they should be entirely appointed by the council, as in English cities, and not by the mayor at all. The great requirement for good government is that whoever is charged with the executive responsibility should have the power to appoint the agents or heads of executive departments. If the mayor is to appoint at all, it would probably be much better to have the various bureaus and departments under him confined to purely administrative powers, leaving to the common council the function of legislating on the policies these departments shall carry out, as in the case of our national congress and state legislatures. That would stimulate the election of a higher class of men to the city council, put the legislative power where it really belongs, and make it possible to separate and fix the responsibility respectively for legislative and executive proceedings.

Third: Yes, indeed. It is doubtful if there are any successful city governments where the mayor has been wholly free to appoint. In Europe, especially in England, where we are constantly being told municipal government has reached its highest point of efficiency, the mayor has absolutely no appointing power independently of the council, and is in reality only chairman of the legislative branch of the city government. On this point our correspondent would do well to read Dr. Albert Shaw's book on "Municipal Government in Great Britain."

Fourth: Municipalities can become non-partisan only by the development of a sentiment for electing municipal officers regardless of their party affiliations. This cannot be accomplished by any arbitrary decision or legislation. It is in reality a matter of the education of public opinion, and one of the steps toward

this is to advocate specific measures for municipal policy, instead of advocating political platforms. For instance, make the increase of public parks a municipal issue and elect those candidates for office who will support that issue regardless of their political affiliations, and so on with other questions of public policy. The probability is that if the public in any community would insist upon this policy both parties would soon come to offer the desired measures and the reforms would be accomplished. Then it would not matter whether the administration was partisan or non-partisan.

Nail Prices and Profits

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—I am a close reader of your magazine, also of the *Bulletin*, and admire your forceful, logical style. I quote you the following: "Nails in 1898, \$1.50; in 1899, \$4.35. Increase in wages 10 per cent. Increase in trust profits 180 per cent. Increase in cost to consumer 190 per cent." Will you kindly show me where are the benefits of the trusts provided the above be true?

A. Fox, New York City.

Unfortunately the quoted statement, probably from some daily paper, is highly erroneous both in its facts and method of deduction. The prices quoted are not correct; the amount of profit cited is not correct; the amount of the increase of wages is not correct, and the effect of the wage increase on the price is not correct.

In January 1898 the price of wire nails (Pittsburg) was \$1.40 and of cut nails \$1.10. The monthly quotations from January 6, 1898 to January 3, 1900 show that at no time has the price been \$4.35, nor even \$3.35. The highest point reached for wire nails was

\$3.20 and for cut nails \$2.50, so that the price our correspondent quotes for 1899 is nearly one-third higher than the highest point ever touched.

In the second place, the citation of 10 per cent. increase in wages is incorrect, as during the first nine months of 1899 wages in the bulk of the iron industry were increased at least 25 per cent.

Third: our correspondent's method of ascertaining the effect of an increase of wages on the price is entirely erroneous. A 10 per cent. increase in wages does not, as this authority assumes, necessarily make a 10 per cent. increase in prices. On the contrary, a 10 per cent. increase in wages might not make 1 per cent. increase in cost and almost never would make a 10 per cent. increase. That would depend entirely upon the character of the process employed, whether it was largely hand or machine labor to which the wage increase applied. If it was a product in which the cost was mainly labor, then the effect on price would be great. If, on the other hand, it was in a process in which the wages were a small item, then the effect on the cost would be very slight. It also would depend upon whether the 10 per cent. increase was simply for the nail-makers or for all the workers in the previous processes of iron production. But in no case can the effect of an increase or reduction of wages be assumed to represent the same percentage of change in the cost of the product that it does in the wage rate. In the case under discussion the wage item happens to be an important one and a good proportion of the 25 per cent. increase can be regarded as literal addition to the cost of the finished product. Furthermore, wages have risen in all the preceding processes of the iron industry, from the very mines, thus increasing the cost all along the line.

Fourth: it is equally erroneous to assume that the

increase in the market price, less a specific increase in wages, all goes to profits. This is a handy way of plausibly misrepresenting the facts. It entirely ignores all the facts connected with raw materials, machinery, marketing, transportation, and in fact everything connected with the entire process except a specific item of wages in the finished product. Now, it is notorious that everything connected with the iron industry preceding the finished product has enormously increased in cost. For instance, during the period named refined bar iron has risen from \$1.05 to \$2.20 per ton, or 110 per cent.; common bar iron has risen from 95 cents to \$2.15, or 126 per cent; Bessemer pig has risen from \$10.00 to \$24.90 per ton, nearly 150 per cent., while the price of wire nails has risen only 128 per cent. and the price of cut nails 127 per cent. If we could follow the history of the price of bar and pig iron we should undoubtedly find that the rise was the result of increased cost of production, due largely to the increased wages at all points and other expenses connected with the opening of new mines and working of less prolific mines and the extra efforts to supply the exceptional demand for iron. Instead, therefore, of representing 180 per cent. increased profit, the advanced price is nearly all represented in the increased cost of raw material and the rise of wages, which distributes prosperity along the whole line of the industry.

Of course this rush of prosperity, where the demand for iron in all its forms is such that the productive capacity of the industry is strained to the uttermost to furnish the supply, is yielding some increased profits. But, we repeat, Mr. Fox's quoted statement is wrong in every particular. It overstates the rise in prices by about one-third; it understates the rise in wages by more than one-half; and then, by a false method of deduction, reaches a result absurdly incorrect.

BOOK REVIEWS

THE LIFE OF NELSON: THE EMBODIMENT OF THE SEA POWER OF GREAT BRITAIN. By Captain A. T. Mahan, D. C. L., LL.D., United States Navy. Second Edition, Revised. Cloth, 742 pages, with maps and illustrations. \$3.00. Little, Brown & C., Boston.

The first edition of this masterly work called out such voluminous comment that to review it again at this date would be superfluous. The revisions and one-volume form of publication of the present edition, however, merit special attention. The revisions are chiefly for the purpose of strengthening the account in certain points where its accuracy had been called in question. For example, Captain Mahan's statement of Nelson's attitude towards the republicans in Naples in 1799, and also the estimate of the famous admiral's affection for his wife, were both challenged after the appearance of the first edition; and in the revision, therefore, the author has included a considerable amount of new matter supporting his original position, especially on the Naples case.

The "Life of Nelson," together with the two previous works, "The Influence of Sea Power Upon History" and "The Influence of Sea Power Upon the French Revolution and Empire," compose a body of historical literature that stands really in a field by itself. No one else has written so exhaustively, and with such universally conceded qualifications, on this distinct element in the rise and fall of the political power of nations and empires. With reference to the latest of the three works, English reviewers enthusiastically declared that it had remained for an American to give the best record and interpretation of Nelson as the great consummator of England's naval supremacy. This is quite

natural, inasmuch as Captain Mahan's attitude toward his subject throughout is one of almost unqualified admiration. Not only does he give us in Nelson a hero of the first order, but at times becomes almost an apologist for notorious faults; at least, if he does not actually condone, he dwells as lightly as possible on the painful features of Nelson's career.

This disposition does not reach the point of seriously marring the accuracy and good judgment of the delineation, however. It is the natural admiration of the sailor for a genius who made sea warfare illustrious and a vital element in the supremacy of nations.

VALUE AND DISTRIBUTION. By Charles William Macfarlane, Ph. D. Lippincott & Company, Philadelphia. Octavo, 317 pp. Cloth, \$2.50.

The theory of value and economic distribution has undergone a great deal of criticism during the last twenty years. Some effort has been made toward developing a new theory and to establish a "new school." Much of this latter-day discussion has been conducted by continental, chiefly German, economists. This school represents the effort to develop a theory of value and distribution based upon the idea of "marginal utility."

Briefly, this idea, which found expression in England by Professor Jevons (1871), is that the value of commodities is finally determined not by what it costs to produce them or reproduce them, nor by the mere quantity available, but by their final utility, or what they are worth to the persons that have the least use for them; final utility meaning less utility.* This seemed a sufficiently marked departure from the wages-fund, supply and demand, idea of the Manchester school to be

* See Gunton's "Principles of Social Economics," Chapter II. of Part III.

taken up by continental writers, particularly German, who always evinced a fondness for dissenting from English economists.

During the next fifteen years several able works on the subject appeared, by German and Austrian writers, culminating with the "Positive Theory of Capital" by Bohm-Bawerk, in 1888, which was published in English in 1891. The theory formulated by this group of writers is called the Austrian-school theory, mainly perhaps because Dr. Bohm-Bawerk is an Austrian. These theories found cordial reception in this country, especially by the younger economists, as the to-be-accepted doctrine. For a few years the economic journals were full of controversy, largely critical commendation, of the Austrian theory. Under this extensive though mainly sympathetic criticism the claims of the new school lost some of their first attractiveness, and are rapidly passing into the domain of tentative if not doubtful doctrine.

In the present work Dr. Macfarlane has undertaken a critical review of the subject of value with special reference to the tenets of the Austrian theory, with which he is evidently thoroughly familiar.

If economic science has any claim to public consideration, it is on the ground that it furnishes a basis for directing industrial and political policy for the promotion of public welfare. Public welfare is best promoted by the increased production and equitable distribution of wealth.

With the exception of charity and theft, distribution can only take place concurrently with production and as a part of it. The normal and wholesome channels through which this economic product flows to the community, then, are wages (including salaries), rent, interest and profits. The function of economic science is to explain the nature and character of the laws and

forces which govern the distribution of wealth through these various channels.

The first proposition, therefore, that presents itself is value, which is another name for price, because the buying and selling of which price is the medium constitutes the whole process of exchange. Labor is bought and sold for wages. To the extent that economics can make clear the causes that determine wages, it furnishes the basis for social as well as individual action toward the wage class. Not to know how wages are determined is not to know how to secure to the laborers the share of the product that equitably belongs to them. The same is true in reference to rent, interest and profits. Only to the extent that economic science contributes to solve these questions is it a useful study.

The chief criticism of the Austrian school is that it is largely devoted to dissertations about terms which for the most part render the subject less clear to the ordinary mind, and hence less useful in practical action. Much time and space has been devoted by the writers of the new school to urging that every form of surplus income be called rent; as, rent of land, rent of capital, rent of labor, consumer's rent, purchaser's rent, and so on. The same with regard to value. Instead of endeavoring to simplify the accepted and traditional words, and so aid the common understanding to a clearer knowledge of the subject, the tendency has been to encircle the topic in a fog of new terms, so that economists even cannot understand each other without first explaining their own terms.

This objection holds with great force against the present work. To establish hairlines of distinction without any real difference of meaning is one of the chief efforts of Dr. Macfarlane's book. By this method he discovers and declares with great assurance that every theory is a failure. The difficulty here seems to

be more with the critic than with the theories criticized. He deals with economic theories as if they related to exact quantities, whereas they can at most only relate to economic and social tendencies.

For instance, we assume that a certain result will occur under absolutely free competition. But absolutely free competition never exists. There is always more or less clogging to the freedom with which competition acts. Ignorance is a very common obstruction, timidity another. The facilities of transportation and a multitude of other things interrupt that absolute freedom of competition. The most that ever happens anywhere in society is a tendency towards an equilibrium, as water seeks its level but seldom finds it. Thus, in discussing cost as an element in price, he says that in the case of freely producible goods, price is directly and exactly measured by the marginal cost of production. Yet this statement is not true. There is probably not a single product in which the price is directly and exactly measured by the marginal cost of production. The theory of marginal cost should not be thus stated. There is no set of goods of which it can be said that either the cost or any other one condition directly and exactly measures the price. But what can be said with as much truth as of any great force in nature or society is that, in the absence of arbitrary obstruction, the price of goods that can be continuously produced tends to equal the cost of production at the margin or the point of greatest expensiveness.

Of course it is true that competition is a necessary element in this, just as the freedom to flow is a necessary condition of water finding its level. Water will not find its level if a portion of it is surrounded by a bank. Neither will prices reach uniformity on the basis of cost, either at the margin or any other point, unless there can be unobstructed mobility of the prod-

ucts within the competing market. And this tendency to adjust the price to the cost will be in proportion to the effectiveness of the competition.

Now, it is for that reason that prices of the same things are not uniform in different markets. This movement of prices is always limited to the area in which the competition to a given point takes place. In the labor market it may be very local, as is the case of New York city; and likewise the market for strawberries and other perishable goods. Some products have a local market, some a national market, and some, like gold, silver, wheat and other world products, an international market. Although it is not literally true that the price is exactly measured by the marginal cost of production, this does not invalidate the doctrine of marginal cost. The important question in this connection seems to be, does marginal cost exercise the predominating influence in propelling prices toward uniformity identical with the cost of production of the marginal or dearest portion within a given market? If that be true of all freely reproducible goods, then that is the great trunk force in governing prices.

In saying, then, that under free competition prices of freely reproducible goods tend to equal the cost of furnishing the dearest portion, we state the law governing the continuous tendency of prices. If we remove competition we have removed an element from the operation of this law, and it will work less perfectly. If we take goods that cannot be reproduced we have also introduced an element of obstruction. But here Dr. Macfarlane is quite clear. He says, it is not the cost of the scarcity good (meaning the one that cannot be freely reproduced) but it is the cost of the next best substitute that enters into this determination, for there is no good so rare or so valuable that some less efficient substitute cannot be found to replace it. That

is eminently correct. So that, the general statement of the doctrine of cost holds true, that the price under competition tends to equal the cost of furnishing the dearest portion of the supply. If the particular article cannot be supplied, then the price will gravitate toward the cost of producing the substitute coming nearest to supplying the same want.

Now there is nothing inconsistent in this with the original statement that cost is the governing element in price, because the world is always dealing in reproducible goods or substitutes for reproducible goods. If there was a danger that wheat would disappear science would be seeking a substitute for it, and the same principle would govern price. If coal should become scarce and electricity be the substitute, the price of fuel would be determined by the cost of supplying the coal which is difficult to obtain, or else the substitute which fills the same function. Clearly, however far we follow the variations of this, the same principle obtains. If a thing is so scarce that it cannot be either reproduced or a substitute furnished, it will be abandoned and the want may disappear. But, for the things that mankind demand and use, this law fixing the price at the cost of the dearest portion of the thing actually used, whether it be the original or the substitute, flows through all marketable products.

At bottom, then, the important fact in prices is the cost, and the importance of public policy is to encourage conditions which will economically lower the cost. That is the great social result upon which public welfare rests so far as prices are concerned. In other words, then, cost is the element that furnishes the possibility of cheapness of wealth. Competition is the element that distributes the margin above the cost of the dearest to the public in lower prices. To clarify this law and aid in making its operation more perfect is the true function of economics.

Now this same principle obtains in regard to the price of labor, and in substantially the same way. The only difference is that the larger distribution of wealth among the laborers depends upon the price of labor rising, instead of falling as in the case of the price of commodities. But, just the same as it is fundamentally true that no permanent lowering of prices and cheapening of wealth can come to the community except by the diminution of the cost of production of the dearest portion, so it is true that no permanent rise in wages can come without multiplying the needs, which means raising the social standard of life, among the laborers who constitute the dearest portion of the labor supply in any given market. All the hair-splitting variations from this are but perturbations in the tendency, and the more they are emphasized the more they befog the subject. The river channel is the main conduit for the flow of a stream of water. If rushes grow up along the side and dirt is thrown into the stream, the freedom of the flow may be interfered with. But the real way to aid the natural flow which gravitation implies is to remove the rushes and keep out the dirt, not set up a new theory about rushes and the accumulation of *debris*. These are perturbations to be minimized by science and society, and this can be most effectively done by most clearly recognizing the unmistakable flow of the main current.

The question of a surplus going to labor is explained by this same principle. Laborers whose standard of living, or customary expense, for whatever reason, is less than the dearest in their group, have a surplus—that is, they may save money. They have what is equivalent to profits with the capitalist. But that is an increment which comes of this same general movement. Rent comes to land on exactly the same condition that profits come to capital; namely,

that it yields more than the dearest. It may be true that under some state of society the poorest land that is used, for whatever purpose, will command a rent. This rent becomes a part of the cost of production, and therefore enters into the price. But all above that goes to a form of profit, which may be distributed to the landlord without being added to the price. Just the same with manufactures. If in any group of products the demand is such that the dearest portion can command a price a little above the cost, to that extent, be it what it may, profit is added to the price of the whole supply, but all profit above that is not added. Whether or not it be literally true, either in agriculture, manufacture or whatsoever, that the dearest portion is finally forced down to be entirely profitless, the general law remains true that all the forces tend to that point, and, if the profit is not entirely annihilated at the dearest point, it is unquestionably reduced to the minimum. Granting that it is not always annihilated, the same law of prices remains; and there is no reason either for new nomenclature or a new theory. Competition will distribute the profits down to the point of either no-profit cost or minimum cost, which is for all the purposes of practical life the same thing.

In this book Dr. Macfarlane has made a contribution at least to the extent of showing that there are a great many defects in the Austrian theory, and that the great and strongest fact in the law of prices, which is the law of distribution, is the cost of producing the dearest portion of reproducible goods. The fact that there may be in some cases a surplus, or even a profit, on the dearest portion, and that this profit enters into the price, while the profit on the other portion does not, in no way militates against the doctrine that the tendency is to fix the price at the cost of the dearest

portion, which is another way of saying that the tendency is to reduce profits to the minimum, and consequently, if competition is efficient, to give the maximum distribution of profits to the public.

NEW BOOKS OF INTEREST

HISTORICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL

Memoirs of a Revolutionist. By P. Kropotkin, author of "Fields, Factories and Workshops." With three photogravure portraits. Crown, 8vo, gilt tops, 519 pp. \$2.00. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston and New York. This is the autobiography of the famous Russian nobleman and revolutionist, embodying extended comments on the history of his times.

The United Kingdom; a Political History. By Goldwin Smith, D.C.L. 2 vols. Crown, 8vo. The Macmillan Co., New York and London. This is a political history of Great Britain and Ireland from the earliest times down to the Reform Bill of 1832.

Roman Society in the Last Century of the Western Empire. By Samuel Dill, Professor of Greek in Queen's College, Belfast. Cloth, 8vo. The Macmillan Co., New York and London. This is a new and cheap edition of Professor Dill's description and analysis of social and intellectual life at a highly significant period of the world's history.

Abraham Lincoln. The Man of the People. By Norman Hapgood. Cloth, 432 pp. \$2.00. The Macmillan Co., New York and London. This book, in the words of the author, "is not a history of the Civil War. It is not an argument about emancipation or reconstruction. It is solely the personal history of Abraham Lincoln as it appears to one of his countrymen." It will be reviewed in our pages at a later date.

FICTION, POETRY AND ESSAYS

Complete Works of Oliver Wendell Holmes. 14 vols. Crown, 8vo. Full-gilt backs. Sold only in sets. \$21.00. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston and New York.

Works of Nathaniel Hawthorne. Concord Edition. 25 vols. Small 16mo; with full-gilt backs. Sold only in sets. \$25.00; finer edition, \$62.50. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston and New York.

Complete Works of James Russell Lowell. 11 vols. Crown, 8vo. Bound in new style, full-gilt backs. Sold only in sets. \$16.50. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston and New York.

ECONOMIC, SOCIOLOGICAL AND POLITICAL

A Dividend to Labor: A Study of Employers' Welfare Institutions. By Nicholas P. Gilman. Crown, 8vo. \$1.75. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston and New York. In a sense this may be considered a sequel to Professor Gilman's work on "Profit Sharing between Employer and Employee." In the present volume he collects a large volume of data showing the operation of profit-sharing institutions.

Rural Wealth and Welfare. By George T. Fairchild, Vice-President and Professor of English Literature, Berea College. Cloth, 16mo. The Macmillan Co., New York and London. This is a work on political economy, discussing the general principles of the subject with special application to rural conditions and problems.

Better-World Philosophy; A Sociological Synthesis. By J. Howard Moore. Cloth, 275 pp. \$1.00. The Ward Waugh Company, Chicago. The table of contents indicates the author's effort to discuss the general economic and social situation in rather profound fashion. For the present we reserve comment.

FROM JANUARY MAGAZINES

“His [the agitator’s] business is to make others demand good administration. He must never reap, but always sow. Let him leave the reaping to others. Such men as Wendell Phillips were not extravagant. They were practical men. Their business was to get heard. They used vitriol, but they were dealing with the hide of the rhinoceros.”—JOHN JAY CHAPMAN, in “Between Elections;” *The Atlantic Monthly*.

“No one understands his value in the labor world better than the old colored man. Recently, when a convention was held in the South by the white people for the purpose of inducing white settlers from the North and West to settle in the South, one of these colored men said to the president of the convention: ‘Fore de Lord, boss, we’s got as many white people down here now as we niggers can support.’”—BOOKER T. WASHINGTON, in “Signs of Progress Among the Negroes;” *The Century*.

“A very large share of the rancor of political and social strife arises either from sheer misunderstanding by one section, or by one class, of another, or else from the fact that the two sections, or two classes, are so cut off from each other that neither appreciates the other’s passions, prejudices, and, indeed, point of view, while they are both entirely ignorant of their community of feeling as regards the essentials of manhood and humanity.”—HON. THEODORE ROOSEVELT, in “Fellow-Feeling as a Political Factor;” *The Century*.

“No one knew better than did Mr. Gladstone the dangers that lurk in a charming, informal gathering of politicians and great ladies. Certain of his political friends were always welcome at Hawarden, but no attempt was ever made to bring together even a small

political party, and although no man in the world could have been the centre of a more delightful intellectual and political set, he ever refused to play the rôle which nature had assigned to him, and when his supporters were bidden to Hawarden they came as personal friends of his own and Mrs. Gladstone's, and business was utterly taboo."—IGNOTA, in "English Political House Parties;" *Lippincott's*.

"In China a dollar will purchase fifteen hundred pieces of *cash* composed of copper and zinc. These cash, with a hole in the centre and strung on a cord, weigh seven pounds. A servant or common laborer in Peking is glad to give ten days of labor, and a carpenter or mason six days, to secure this amount of cash. This money would give a comfortable support to an average family. Three dollars a month, or thirty-six dollars a year, would cover the living income of a Chinese family of the working class."—D. Z. SHEFFIELD, in "The Future of the Chinese People;" *The Atlantic Monthly*.

"As a matter of fact, half of the men are not so terrifically busy and important as they consider themselves. They seem to be in a great hurry, but they do not move very fast, as all know who try to take the walk up-town at a brisk pace, and most of them wear that intent, troubled expression of countenance simply from imitation of a habit generated by the spirit of the place. But it gives a quaking sensation to the poor young man from the country who has been walking the streets for weeks looking for a job; and it makes the visiting foreigner take out his note-book and write a stereotyped phrase or two about Americans—next to his note about our 'Quick Lunch' signs, which never fail to astonish him, and behind which may be seen lunchers lingering for the space of two cigars."—JESSIE LYNCH WILLIAMS, in "The Walk Up-Town in New York;" *Scribner's*.



HON. CARROLL D. WRIGHT
United States Commissioner of Labor.

GUNTON'S MAGAZINE

REVIEW OF THE MONTH

Kimberley
Relieved

At last the British campaign in South Africa is becoming respectable. Without any advertising,—indeed, without anybody being able to learn anything about it,—it is clear now that ever since Lords Roberts and Kitchener landed in South Africa preparations and organization have been proceeding on a vast scale. Division after division of troops has been landed at the Cape, and seemingly disappeared from sight. It now develops that they were being massed below the Modder River as a part of a general scheme of operations intended both to relieve Kimberley and to make a sudden and well-supported invasion of the Orange Free State. Lord Roberts arrived at the Modder River on February 9th and personally took charge of the campaign in that quarter. The first move was to withdraw General French's cavalry force from the vicinity of Colesburg and Rensburg in northern Cape Colony, to make a forced march straight for Kimberley while the main body of the British army was drawing off the Boer forces from around Kimberley by a sudden movement eastward. After General French retired from Colesburg the Boers naturally tried to take advantage of the sudden weakening in that quarter. After two days hard fighting

they succeeded in gaining several advantages, of minor importance compared with the strategical success of Lord Roberts' general movement farther north. General French carried out his part of the movement like clockwork, leading three brigades of cavalry, horse artillery and mounted infantry with extraordinary rapidity in the face of blinding dust storms and great heat, crossing the Modder River a little to the eastward of Lord Methuen's old position, passing around the Boer lines and reaching Kimberley on the evening of February 15th.

Lord Roberts' Campaign	The main body of General Cronje's army, drawn off by the invasion of the Orange Free State, and threatened in the rear, raised the siege of Kimberley and at present is in full retreat toward Bloemfontein. With about ten thousand men, he is being pursued by fully forty thousand English; the sixth division, under General Kelly-Kenny, in the lead. General Kitchener is with this division, while Lord Roberts is east of Jacobsdal, well within the Orange Free State. Jacobsdal until a few days ago was a stronghold of Cronje's army.
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The main advantage in the relief of Kimberley just now is the psychological effect, although they had been forced to put the women and children into the mines for safety, and were living on horseflesh. General French left Kimberley within a day or two and joined in pursuit of the Boers. Nobody knows whether it is Lord Roberts' intention to strike for Bloemfontein or to hold General Cronje in check and send part of his army straight for Pretoria. Were it not for the confidence the outside world feels in the military ability of Lords Roberts and Kitchener, a sudden reverse blow on Cronje's part would be no surprise. As it is, the con-

dition now, both as to size of forces and lay of the land, are greatly in favor of the British.

It is gratifying to note that Lord Roberts is conducting his campaign according to the highest standards of civilized warfare, if the word can be applied to warfare at all. His order prohibiting looting is thoroughgoing to the point of rigidity. "In all cases" it reads, "where supplies of any kind are required, these must be paid for on delivery, and a receipt for the amount taken. Officers will be held responsible for the observance of the rule that soldiers are never allowed to enter private houses or to molest the inhabitants on any pretext whatever, and every precaution must be taken to prevent looting or petty robbery by persons connected with the army."

**General Buller's
Ineffective
Work**

The contrast between operations in the West and those in Natal reveal a very different order of generalship, even though General Buller may be facing the more difficult situation. Three or four efforts have been made to relieve Ladysmith, and each time the British have been forced to recross the Tugela River with heavy losses. The first crossing was made on January 16th. Two or three days' fighting succeeded, and General Warren finally managed to get as far toward Ladysmith as Acton Homes. To maintain this line of advance it became necessary to storm a certain mountain near the Tugela, —Spion Kop,—which was done on the night of January 23d. It was a difficult position, and its capture was hailed as the probable turning point in the Natal campaign. But this proved a vain delusion. Spion Kop was within range of Boer artillery from several points, besides being destitute of water supply: it was held one day and abandoned. Not only this, but the whole British army had to recross the river and abandon the

relief of Ladysmith for the time being. Nothing was gained and more than seven hundred men were lost, including one of the principal officers, General Woodgate.

Another advance was attempted on February 5th. The Tugela was crossed at two fords. One division advanced as far as Vaal Krantz on the direct road to Ladysmith, held it a day or two, and was obliged to retire. The Boers seem to have fortified every available rise of ground in the whole region between the Tugela River and Ladysmith, making it a dubious proposition to conduct a campaign that was dependent on storming one of these positions at a time while the others remained in possession of the enemy. The Boers have been able to turn their guns on isolated positions as fast as captured, as in the case of Spion Kop and Vaal Krantz.

As we go to press General Buller has just taken two very important points, the hill Hlangwane, south of the Tugela, and the town Colenso, only twelve miles from Ladysmith and commanding the railroad. Unless General Joubert remains in full force along the Tugela, the British may at last be able to force a passage to Ladysmith, and in fact the success of these last movements does indicate that the Boers are retiring to intercept Lord Roberts in the West. The losses of the war already, on the British side, have amounted to nearly ten thousand men, which is more than our entire losses in the Spanish and Philippine wars from all causes.

**Parliament
and the War**

Of course, the South African situation has monopolized attention in parliament, which reconvened on January 30th. The Queen's speech expressed full confidence that her subjects would spare no exertion "until they have brought this

struggle for the maintenance of the Empire and the assertion of its supremacy in South Africa to a victorious conclusion." Attacks on the government began at once. The Earl of Kimberley severely criticized the lack of preparation, and especially the failure to prevent importations of arms into the Transvaal during the last dozen years and more. Lord Salisbury declared in reply that there was nothing in the conventions between the two countries to prevent importation of arms and ammunition into the Transvaal through Portuguese territory: "Why were we to know about the importation of arms? I believe guns were introduced into the Transvaal in boilers, and munitions of war in piano cases. We had a small secret-service fund. If you want much information you must give much money. Consider the enormous amounts spent by other governments, especially the Transvaal, which I have heard on high diplomatic authority spent £800,000 in a single year, and the small sums spent by England, making it impossible for us to have the omniscience attributed to us by Lord Kimberley." Further defending the conduct of the war, he compared it with the American situation at the outbreak of the civil war, as an illustration of "how easy it would be to draw a mistaken inference from the reverses we have met at the outset."

But Lord Rosebery considered this sort of defence altogether too general. The Empire was entitled to know what was being done with the enormous means of defence voted to the government, with no results but defeat. There was not even "a hint from the government of the military measures it proposes taking to face the disasters we have met and the sacrifices we have made." The Marquis of Lansdowne, Secretary of State for War, promised a statement in the early future, and frankly admitted that the Boers "have

shown an amount of resource, mobility and tenacity upon which the government did not calculate."

The Government Sustained The opposition was in the difficult and ineffective position that an opposition party always is in during a foreign war. The vote on the Queen's speech abundantly proved this. A proposed amendment to the address, expressing "regret at the want of foresight and judgment displayed by Her Majesty's advisers, as shown alike in their conduct of African affairs since 1895 and in their preparation for the war now proceeding," was rejected after a week's debate by a vote of 352 to 139. This reveals a much stronger support for the government than it could by any means count upon for any strictly party measure. Right in this line, one of the most remarkable features of the debate was the speech of H. H. Asquith. Mr. Asquith was Home Secretary in Lord Rosebery's cabinet. He comes out now in defence of the government, declaring that if he believed Mr. Chamberlain's negotiations prior to the war had been a mere cloak to overthrow the independence of the Transvaal he would not vote a penny for the prosecution of the war, but that such was not his opinion, nor that of the House of Commons, nor of the great majority of the country. The country was united, and nothing had happened to justify the "croakings of pessimism or fits of panic."

American Opinion Sensational journalism and superficial public sentiment generally go with the winning party, if no personal interest is at stake. It is no cause for self-congratulation to see how marked this tendency has been in this country in the last few months. With every fresh reverse of the British arms the real point of the conflict seems to sink farther out of sight, until the domi-

nant note in public discussion becomes a sort of continuous gloating over the "downfall of the oppressor." Senator Hale voiced this feeling in a violent speech in the senate on January 19th. "I do not fail to take notice," he exclaimed, "that throughout the length and breadth of the land the sympathies of the great American people are in favor of the struggle which the Boers are making to-day to preserve a republican government against one of the greatest Powers of the world. I do not doubt that the American people agree with me that the war which Great Britain is waging is the most fell blow at human liberty that has been struck in the last century."

The senator was hardly authorized to speak for the great substratum of American opinion which does not boil over in the newspapers or in frantic mass meetings. Still, there is no mistaking the bitterness of the pro-Boer sentiment wherever manifested. For example, a very large mass meeting held in New York city on January 29th was as violent in its anti-English demonstrations as a meeting of the Ancient Order of Hibernians might be under a lecture on Oliver Cromwell. One of the principal speakers, Congressman Cochran of Missouri, roused a whirlwind of applause by shouting that he "prayed God that the Boers would carry on the war long enough to raise the price of crape in London."

So atrocious a sentiment represents nothing American, and nothing typical of the solid background of American opinion. The discouraging and humiliating thing is that this is what goes forth as American sentiment; and that, too, in less than three years after our own national crisis, when the press and public opinion of England constituted the one voice raised anywhere in the world in defense of our war with Spain. We now show our appreciation and gratitude by the sort of

virulence that Senator Hale, Congressman Cochran, the sensational journals and cheap politicians everywhere are putting forth and claiming to be representative of American opinion. It is the more astonishing and discouraging when we remember that the cause England is now defending is precisely the principle for which the thirteen colonies fought in 1776,—no taxation without representation. The oppressing power then was England itself, to-day it is a small nation carrying the name but none of the spirit of a republic; but size does not alter the essential merits of the case.

**An American's
Testimony**

Nobody has better summed up the real gist of the South African situation than Mr. John Hays Hammond, an American (note, not English) mining engineer, who spoke by invitation in Plymouth Church, Brooklyn, on the evening of January 25th. This is testimony that rests upon personal knowledge:

“Two-thirds of the Transvaal population were Outlanders. We went thither by express invitation; our capital and enterprise developed what in Boer hands was a worthless territory into the greatest mining center of the world; the country, now rich, was bankrupt before our arrival; we owned more than half the land, having purchased it from the Boers; we paid nine-tenths of the taxes, much of which amount was admitted by the Boer Commission to be class taxation, and yet we had to submit to unlawful expenditure of the bulk of taxation, as we had no voice in the Government.

“We objected to the subversion of the High Court of Justice, the jury system, the Aliens' Expulsion act, the prohibition of free speech, the Johannesburg police force, the Public Meetings act, the unsanitary condition of Johannesburg; to being taxed to maintain schools in which Dutch was exclusively taught; to the Boers being exclusively allowed to carry firearms; to the maladministration of laws as to native labor; to the maladministration of the liquor law; to the prevalent official corruption and to the granting of concessions giving monopolies for the sale of supplies indispensable to the Outlanders.

“In view of these facts, it is nothing less than disingenuous to affect a sympathy for a republic which, as you must admit, is one in name only.”

**Count Tolstoy's
Queer Comment**

A highly interesting incident, in passing, is the astonishing comment of Count Tolstoy, bearing on the duty of the Transvaal. The aged Russian philosopher is the one man living who stands most unequivocally for the doctrine of absolute non-resistance. Wherever force is applied to establish or perpetuate a wrong, he would have the victim yield rather than make two wrongs by using force to resist. This might be called the keynote of his social and moral philosophy. What are we to think, then, of his championing the Boer cause in an interview published in a Russian paper, and saying: "I hope daily to hear of a fresh British reverse." Now, of course, the count may believe with the utmost fervor that England is pursuing the tyrant's part, but what of it? Ought he not to be advising the Boers to lay down their arms and, as it were, "turn the other cheek?" Or, has he a different ethical standard for nations from that he would apply to individuals? Or is it because, now and then, he is betrayed in spite of himself into realizing the truth that, without resistance to evil and tyranny, justice would die and the race promptly relapse into barbarism and thence into savagery? That sort of resistance is indeed essential to human progress, whether we decide that in the present case it is being exerted by the Boers against England or by the alien residents against the oppression of the Boers.

**Future of the
Transvaal**

It is said that President Kruger's terms of peace include absolute independence for the Transvaal, cession of a part of Natal, and a seven-year franchise for aliens living in the South African Republic. In case the privilege of dictating terms happens to lodge with the other party, we get an indication of what policy will be pursued

from Mr. Chamberlain's speech in the House of Commons on January 25th: "Speaking for the government," he declared, "I say there shall not be a second Majuba. Never again shall the Boers erect in the heart of South Africa a citadel whence to proceed to disaffection and race animosity. Never again shall they be able to endanger the paramountcy of Great Britain. Never again shall they be able to treat an Englishman as though he belonged to an inferior race."

It has been rumored that Great Britain's plan, in case she is victor, will be to reorganize all South Africa under a system similar to the Canadian, establishing five federal states—Cape Colony, the Transvaal, Natal, the Orange Free State and Rhodesia, with a general parliament, and a governor-general appointed by the crown. On the other hand, the Boers in case of defeat are implicitly relying on European intervention should any such program be attempted. They believe that Europe will never consent to see England annex the two South African republics, and that the longer they can hold out the more favorable terms they will get. Perhaps England will not deem annexation the best policy, but when she comes to dictate the terms of peace we may be sure they will include equal rights, a reasonable franchise, reform of administration abuses, and such limits on the right of military armament as will forever prevent the possibility of another such gigantic sacrifice of treasure and human life.

Nicaragua
Canal
Treaty

Quite in line with the pro-Boer sentiment in this country, strong opposition is being shown to the proposed Nicaragua

Canal treaty arranged between Secretary Hay and Ambassador Paunceforte, and submitted to the senate for confirmation on February 5th. This treaty is intended to pave the way for construction of the canal by or

under the auspices of the United States government. For fifty years this has been prevented by the old Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, which provided that any such canal if ever built must be under the joint control and management of the British and American governments. Although Great Britain has unquestionably violated certain provisions of this treaty, our government has ignored these infractions and the treaty has never been abrogated. The proposed new convention grants to this country the exclusive right of construction, regulation and management of the canal, in return for which both parties guarantee its absolute neutrality, on much the same basis as the Suez canal. In time of war, battleships of belligerents may use the canal provided they can get within the three-mile limit at the eastern or western approach; and its free use for the commerce of all nations must not be interrupted.

It is urged against the treaty that the **Cheapening the Monroe Doctrine** Monroe Doctrine will be endangered unless the United States has absolute control of the canal both in war and peace. The argument is weak. If sustained it would turn the Monroe doctrine into an extreme imperialistic dogma rather than a principle of free American development. That principle is simply that no foreign power shall interfere with the growth of free democratic institutions in the western hemisphere. Just how the neutrality of the Nicaragua Canal endangers that principle is hard to see. It will be located entirely on foreign territory, where we have no right to erect fortifications. Even if such right should be obtained it would be nearly impossible to prevent an enemy, by secret land operations, from ruining the canal at some vital point. On the other hand, should it ever become important for us to prevent an enemy's fleet from entering the canal we can do it by a

squadron operating from a naval station say in Puerto Rico or, on the Pacific side, Hawaii. No important practical point could be gained by insisting that we must have the right to open or shut this canal as we may choose. We will have the same opportunity of protecting the approaches to a neutral canal that we would have if the canal were exclusively our own, while the canal itself would remain safe.

There are certain defects in the treaty, as is well pointed out by the Chicago *Inter-Ocean*. It does not specifically say that it supersedes the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, and does not provide that Great Britain shall not fortify her adjacent possessions in Central America. With these points corrected we can well afford to grant neutrality such as the world recognizes at Suez, and gain the exclusive privilege of constructing and regulating the canal, from which the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty has hitherto restrained us.

**Currency
Bill
Passed**

The administration party is at last fulfilling its expressed or implied pledge to establish by law the soundness of our monetary system. The senate gold-standard currency bill, introduced early in the session, was passed by that body on February 15th by an almost strict party vote, of 46 to 29. It differs from the bill which passed the house on December 18th in that the house bill contained no provision for refunding the national debt and did not provide for cancellation of treasury notes upon the coinage of silver bullion now in the treasury; but the main point of difference in the two bills relates to the manner of redeeming the greenbacks. We have commented on this elsewhere in this number. There is a strong disagreement between the two houses on these points of difference, and the bill which finally becomes a law will probably show important modifica-

tions from both the house and senate measures. It happens that the amount of money now in circulation in the United States is the largest, both per capita and in aggregate amount, of any time in our history. During February the circulation passed the two billion dollar point, or nearly \$26 per capita, estimating the population at about 77,000,000. Circumstances could not be more favorable, therefore, for sound money legislation. Nobody will be frightened by a scarecrow of currency contraction when the circulation has just reached the highest point in our history under a standard actually based on gold, which the new law will merely confirm.

New Philippine Commission

For a month there have been almost no reports of military operations coming from the Philippines, and the reasonable assumption is that armed opposition has nearly disappeared. Therefore, the president has wisely concluded that an effort ought to be made without further delay to undertake the beginnings of civil administration. He is going to send a new commission to the Philippines, to take over the control of all except purely military functions. This commission will organize civil administration as far as possible throughout Luzon, and ultimately the other islands. Judge William H. Taft, who is to head the commission, is one of the younger justices of the United States circuit court, and believed to be well qualified for the arduous task to be placed upon him.

A Blow to Polygamy

Congress has had several unpleasant tasks on its hands during the present session, the house having to decide on the case of Brigham H. Roberts, the Utah polygamist, and the senate on the seating of Senators Quay and Clark, the one charged with holding office by virtue of an unconstitutional appointment by the governor of Pennsylva-

nia, and the other with having obtained his election by scandalous bribery. Roberts, it will be remembered, was elected congressman from Utah by a plurality of 5,665. The house of representatives on December 5th, by a vote of 302 to 30, refused to permit him to take the oath of office, and appointed a committee to investigate his case. This committee on January 20th made a long report presenting detailed evidence showing Roberts to be a polygamist, and urging that the house exercise its right of judging the qualifications of a member by excluding him. On January 25th this was done; Roberts' credentials were declared invalid by a vote of 268 to 59. The result must be cause for congratulation to every patriotic citizen who dreads to see an oligarchical, socialistic, un-American organization, which yields perfunctory obedience to law only through compulsion, gain a foothold in the councils of the nation.

**The Clark
Bribery Case**

The senate committee on privileges and elections is going to the very bottom of the Clark case. Mr. Clark himself has been on the stand. He frankly admits having spent \$115,000 in the senatorial campaign; for the purpose, as he puts it, of overthrowing the political rule of Mr. Marcus Daly in Montana. All this was legitimately expended, of course, and so far as his personal knowledge went nobody was bribed. "There were plenty of rumors about the expenditure of money," he testified, "but I have no personal knowledge of anything of the kind being done." Brought down to close quarters on a number of specific transactions he declared that it was his habit to turn over matters of detail to others, so that he personally could not account for the queerness of a good many queer things. The amount he spent would be almost a dollar apiece for every man, woman and child in Montana, regardless of politics,

and if all this went to literature and mass meetings it must have been the most tremendous campaign of education ever undertaken in this or any other country. The whole presumption is so strongly against Mr. Clark that he ought to be excluded for the sake of the moral tone of the senate, even if no one particular charge could be literally substantiated in a court of justice.

**Assassination
of Goebel**

During the last month Kentucky has furnished object-lessons in self-government which our Cuban, Puerto Rican, Hawaiian and Philippine wards will doubtless note with sympathy and admiration. It is indeed most discouraging that, at a time when we are trying to establish orderly government in barbarian communities, one of our oldest states should be a scene of bloodshed and disorder over a purely political dispute. Through it one of the rival candidates for governor has lost his life. He was the author of the infamous election law providing that decisions of the state board of election commissioners may be overruled by a vote of the legislature. The board having decided against him in last fall's election, he was on the point of getting the legislature to reverse this decision and seat himself in the governor's chair. Some desperate partisan of the other side concealed himself in one of the rooms of the capitol and shot Mr. Goebel while the latter was approaching the building, on the 30th of January. Governor Taylor, fearing insurrection, issued a proclamation adjourning the legislature to meet at London, a town in the eastern mountain district of Kentucky, on Tuesday February 6th. No insurrection did occur, and it is a grave question whether Governor Taylor did not exceed his authority by this step, and thus weaken his own case when the matter gets into the courts. The democratic

members of the legislature tried to meet but were prevented by the troops from entering the capitol. As a last resort they drew up and signed a statement declaring Goebel to be governor-elect. Acting upon this authority, the chief justice of Kentucky administered the oath of office to Goebel on the night of January 31st, and to J. C. W. Beckham as lieutenant-governor. Goebel died on the evening of February 3rd and Beckham took the oath of office.

**Two Governors
In Kentucky**

Since then there have been two governors in Kentucky, each issuing orders and in constant danger of a violent clash of authority. Governor Taylor appealed to President McKinley for recognition of his title, but the president declined to interfere. The republican members of the legislature met in London at the time appointed, the democrats proceeded to hold sessions in Louisville. An effort was made to get Governor Taylor to sign an agreement to withdraw from office if the legislature in joint session should declare Beckham lawful governor: on the other hand, the democrats were to pledge a revision of the Goebel law so as to secure fair elections and the supremacy of the courts in deciding on the returns. This would have ousted Governor Taylor, and probably the Goebel law would not have been repealed. He declined to sign the agreement, and ordered the legislature to reconvene at the capital, Frankfort, on February 12th; the troops to return to their homes. This step apparently puts Governor Taylor again in the legal right, and the whole matter now goes to the courts. Shocking as the murder of Goebel is, and mistaken as Governor Taylor may have been in some of his acts, an impartial observer cannot fail to trace the trouble directly to the effort of Goebel and his followers to put through an outrageously undemocratic scheme for overturning the will of the people.

HAND AND MACHINE LABOR

CARROLL D. WRIGHT, LL.D., UNITED STATES COMMISSIONER
OF LABOR

When one studies the changes that have been wrought by the industrial revolution which abolished the domestic system of labor and installed the régime of machinery he is apt to be either pessimistic or optimistic, in accordance with the extent to which he has carried his investigations. The pessimist clings to the idea that machinery displaces labor in the aggregate, while the optimist, readily admitting that individual workmen are often displaced, contends that in the aggregate machinery secures employment to a larger relative proportion of the whole population. The difficulty lies in the effort to generalize and in confusing the results which can be shown by the statistical method with those which can be shown only through observation and a very wide comprehension of the subject. The latter may be called the psychological side and the former the material side of the question of machinery.

It seems quite impossible for any careful student to avoid the conclusion that machinery has wrought many changes or modifications in the dogmas and positions of the economists of the first half of this century. The industrial revolution, the first effects of which were seen in the latter part of the eighteenth century, was not understood by Mr. Malthus and his contemporaries, and they did not foresee the extent of the revolution. The Malthusian doctrine that population was constantly

pressing upon subsistence has been checked through the extensive use of machinery applied to production. The doctrine of diminishing returns, even the law of supply and demand, has been modified under the new régime. Machinery has established or brought into activity new principles in statute law. It has wrought many changes in common law doctrine. It has transformed transportation. It has increased the opportunities to enjoy art and literature. It has lessened the frequency and the possibilities of famines. It has increased longevity by making life safer and more comfortable. It has extended marvelously the power of production, and consequently of consumption. It has made the world cosmopolitan, upsetting old ideas and old customs. It has lifted struggling humanity to a higher plane and stimulated a higher intelligence. These are what may be called the grand generalizations resulting from an honest study of statistics and the influence of machinery. They may be called the psychological results, but they do not satisfy those who demand a concrete statement as to the power of machinery, a statement that can be put into figures.*

The late Dr. David A. Wells, in his very valuable work entitled "Recent Economic Changes," brought out a few illustrations showing the exact ratio existing between hand and machine labor. His chief illustrations were drawn from the first annual report of the United States Commissioner of Labor, but at that time all such illustrations were meager, because no very great effort had been made to collect the data necessary for a comparison of production by hand and machine methods. A few years ago congress authorized the

*In the *Social Economist*, the predecessor of GUNTON'S MAGAZINE, for June, July and September, 1891, the writer discussed the relation of invention to labor, the contraction and expansion of labor, and the ethical influences of invention generally.

Commissioner of Labor to investigate and report upon the effect of the use of machinery upon labor and the cost of production, the relative productive power of hand and machine labor, and the cost of manual and machine power as they are used in the productive industries. Under this authorization we now have the Thirteenth Annual Report of the United States Department of Labor, entitled "Hand and Machine Labor," and consisting of about 1,600 pages of tabular matter and accompanying analyses. In examining this document it is interesting to note that the facts were obtainable for 672 units of production, representing both hand and machine methods. No facts were gathered unless they related to both methods, and it is further interesting to note that a very large number of these units are produced at the present time under both methods. Some of these units, however, are not now produced by the hand method, and hence the information was obtained from those who had been engaged in hand production and could give the necessary data.

This report answers in a measure the many demands for information relative to the ratio of power under the two methods of production, but no aggregation can be made, because it is impossible to carry out calculations through the innumerable ramifications of production under hand and machine methods. To put into a summary the statistics representing the force or energy under the two methods for a part only of all the production in the country or in the world would lead to very false conclusions, although such a summary would be of the greatest possible value in the study of the question of machinery.

For the purpose of answering the question a few comparisons must serve for illustration. The introduction of machinery for making paper-bags complete, a very simple manufacture, has worked a marked change

in that industry. The bags are folded, pasted, counted and bundled by one machine, the paper having been previously cut to the required size. In making one style of bag the operations of folding and pasting the tubes for 1,000 bags required 3 hours' work for one woman with paste-pot and brush, and a like time was consumed by another woman in making and pasting the satchel bottoms, while the counting and bundling of the bags occupied one man 30 minutes, all the operations aggregating 6 hours and 30 minutes under the hand method; while by the machine in 20 minutes, or an aggregate time of 40 minutes for two young women, all the operations were performed, the ratio being 10 to 1 in favor of the machine method. In ruling paper for pass-books, ledgers, etc., a steam ruling-machine requires 30 minutes, as against 20 hours by hand, for performing a given amount of work. This is a ratio of 40 to 1 in favor of the machine method. In ruling paper, taking 100 reams and the same width of ruling, by the hand method, under which the paper was ruled with a hand-ruling machine, it required 140 hours as against 12 hours under the modern method, with the use of the ruling-machine run by steam power, a ratio of nearly 12 to 1. In ruling 100 reams of single-cap paper, with faint lines on both sides, by the primitive method of ruler and quill, it required 4,800 hours, and with a modern ruling-machine 2 hours and 30 minutes, a ratio of 1,920 to 1 in favor of the machine method. The sewing of button pieces on shoes by hand required 75 hours by hand, while by the use of the machine it is done in 33 minutes, a ratio of 135 to 1.

In cutting out clothing by the cutting-machine as against the hand method, the ratios vary from 6 to 1 to 7 to 1. In some of the operations in producing cotton and woollen goods the total time required under the machine method for the completion of a certain quantity

of work is a little over 114 hours, while under the hand method it would be 750 hours or more, a ratio of 6 1-2 to 1, while in some other processes the ratio is as high as 25 to 1. In some of the operations in manufacturing metal goods, like adzes and axes, the ratio rises as high as 114 to 1, it varying with the various operations. These illustrations might be worked out in hundreds of specific operations.

In agriculture, under the modern method a broadcast seeder will accomplish a given amount of work in about one-fourth or one-fifth the time required by hand. In shelling corn by hand 66 hours and 40 minutes would be required to shell a quantity which could be shelled in 36 minutes by machine. Mowing grass with scythes requires 7 hours and 20 minutes to do the same amount of work which can be done in 1 hour and 6 minutes with the mower, or in about one-seventh the time consumed by hand.

The most forceful illustration, however, of the potential energy of machines is found in considering the horse power used in manufactures, the number of persons employed with the horse power, and the equivalent in men by which the labor of the persons employed is supplemented. For such calculations we must use the Federal census of 1890. In the manufacture of agricultural implements there were 42,544 persons employed. Their labor was supplemented by motive power representing 50,395 horse power. One horse power is equivalent to the power of 6 men. Thus the labor of the persons employed in manufacturing agricultural implements was supplemented by the equivalent of 302,370 men, the physical equivalent in the ratio being 7. In the manufacture of cotton goods the labor of 221,585 persons was supplemented by steam and water of 464,881 horse power, equivalent to an additional force to the number of persons employed of

2,789,286 men, the ratio of the supplemental power being 12 1-2.

The most extensive supplemental work is found in flour and grist mills, where 63,481 persons were employed, with the use of 752,365 horse power added, the latter being equivalent to the work of 4,514,190 men, or a supplemental equivalent expressed by the ratio 71. In this industry a very few persons are necessary, while there must be a great expenditure for motive power. The next highest ratio is found in the manufacture of paper, in which 29,586 men were employed and machines having a horse power of 242,176, the equivalent of the labor of 1,453,056 men, the ratio being 49.

In silk and silk goods and the manufacture of hosiery and knit goods, with a respective supplemental power of 177,828 and 207,228 men, the ratio was 3 1-2. In woolen goods 79,351 persons were employed, utilizing machines of 122,501 horse power, equivalent to the labor of 735,006 men, a ratio of 9 1-2; and in worsted goods, where 43,593 persons were employed, aided by 57,111 horse power, the ratio was 8, and the added or supplemental power equalled 342,666 men.

Taking all the manufactures of the United States in 1890, barring some omissions in reporting horse power, it is found that the total horse power was, in round numbers, 6,000,000, equivalent to the labor of 36,000,000 men, while only 4,476,884 persons were employed, the supplemental labor having a ratio equivalent to 8 to 1. Horse power used in manufactures equivalent to 36,000,000 men represents a population of 180,000,000; in other words, if the products of the manufacturing establishments alone, of the United States in 1890, had been secured by the old hand methods, without the aid of power machinery, it would have required a population of 180,000,000; with none left for argri-

culture, trade, transportation, mining, forestry, the professions, or any other occupations.

The above are the calculations from the returns of the eleventh census. There have appeared from time to time in pamphlets, speeches, and books computations which show that the machinery of Massachusetts alone represents the labor of more than 100,000,000 men, or nearly one-half of the male workmen on the globe, had they been engaged in the service of that commonwealth; and nearly forty years ago the power of machinery in the factories of Great Britain was computed to equal 600,000,000 men, or more than all the adults, male and female, of mankind at that time. These estimates have no basis whatever in fact. They are fantastical in the extreme. The calculations given above show that the motive power in manufacturing in this country in 1890 was equal to the labor of 36,000,000 men annually. This statement is fantastical enough, and it is difficult to comprehend it; yet it is believed to be within the truth, because, as intimated already, the ramifications of the use of machinery cannot be concentrated into a statistical summary. The truth, even, smacks of fairy tales or the statements of a statistical Munchausen, but the figures given must be accepted as the best that can be secured with the meagre data at hand. The great variation in the ratio prevents any close and accurate calculation; as, for instance, under the old hand method of spinning woolen yarn by the spinning wheel, where one thread had to be spun at a time, while the modern, perfected mule spinning machine will spin 2,200 threads. There may be higher ratios than this, but with 2 as the lowest ratio expressing hand and machine energy, the range being all the way between 2 and 2,200, the difficulties of arriving at a summarized statement become at once clearly apparent.

Another striking illustration of the added power

which machinery has given to the world is found in transportation. The horse power of the 30,000 and more locomotives in use in the United States in 1890 was equivalent to the labor of 57,940,320 horses, or of 347,425,920 men; that is to say, if the traffic of the United States of 1890 had been carried on by horses, it would have required the number just given, and if by men alone, the 347,425,920 stated, the equivalent of the horse power. Probably, to do the business of the present time by horses and men, it would require the number of horses given and at least 20,000,000 men. These calculations as to the power of locomotives have been based on the calculation made by Hon. Edward Appleton, a distinguished civil engineer in Massachusetts, and for some time one of the members of the Board of Railroad Commissioners of that commonwealth.

Mr. Mulhall has undertaken to calculate the energy or working power of the people of this country since 1840. He reduces these things to foot-tons, a foot-ton being a power sufficient to raise one ton one foot in a day, and in this calculation he finds that in 1840 the energy of the people of the United States was represented by 17,346,000 foot-tons daily, or 1,020 foot-tons per inhabitant; in 1860, 39,005,000 foot-tons, or 1,240 foot-tons per inhabitant, and in 1895, 128,700,000 foot-tons, 1,850 foot-tons per inhabitant. This shows that the collective power of our population has more than trebled since 1860, steam power having multiplied five-fold in the thirty-five years of his calculation; the strength being shown approximately in horse power of steam, in 1895, including fixed engines, locomotives, and engines used on steamboats, at 16,940,000, or 240 horse power per 1,000 of the population. Two hundred and forty horse power represents the energy of 1,452 men supplemental to each 1,000. According to Mr.

Mulhall, this energy is more than double the European average, so that it may be said that 70,000,000 of Americans represent as much working power as 150,000,000 of Europeans.

These illustrations and comparisons might be extended indefinitely, but they show not only the productive capacity of labor performed in the past as compared with the reproductive faculty of modern labor, but also the difficulty of reducing the psychological influence of machines to concrete statements under the statistical method. The reflection comes that a labor-saving machine is best defined as a contrivance by which the dead still work, for the motive power of steam is the stored heat of the sun converted into present power. That heat gives force to the present era, while the intelligence of the inventors of motive power, or the machines which control it, and their workmen, are still working in unconscious iron and converting the heat into motion and doing the work of the world. The permanent nature of that part of the labor, intellectual and physical, of inventors and mechanical artisans which characterizes the implements of modern manufacturing establishments has had this phenomenal result—it has practically enabled one generation of men to do the work of four or five generations

PROPOSED MORTGAGE TAX IN NEW YORK STATE

CHARLES E. SPRAGUE, PH.D., PRESIDENT UNION DIME SAVINGS INSTITUTION, NEW YORK

A proposition to amend the laws of the State of New York in respect to taxation is now exciting considerable interest. It is worthy of careful consideration by those interested in economics, as to the principles upon which it is based, and also as to the practical methods by which it is proposed to carry them out.

The bill in question contains several separate provisions, only one of which I propose to consider, namely, that relating to mortgages, omitting all discussion of the tax upon bank capital and "moneyed capital."

It is proposed that all mortgages upon real property in the state shall be subject to a special tax of one-half of one per cent. per annum for state purposes and shall not be taxable at all for local purposes.

The advocates of the bill point to its provisions as a relief to the holder of the mortgage. They say: You are now taxable upon the mortgages held by you at the full rate (2 to 3% according to locality); we propose to substitute for this large tax a much smaller one, which can certainly be collected and you should surely be glad to receive this reduction. This sounds very well and has influenced many people in favor of the measure. But this statement of the case omits a very important element, and therein lies the sophistry.

We are told that mortgages are now taxable at the full local rate, but this is deceptive. Not mortgages, not notes, not bonds, not furniture, not paintings, not any specific property is taxed as personalty; not these, but a certain net amount, of which these properties are components.

The law of the state contemplates two quite different methods of taxation for real estate and for personal property. A clear apprehension of the difference between these is necessary for understanding the present question.

Real estate is taxed specifically, *in rem*, on its gross valuation. The owner of a piece of real estate, even if his equity, less the mortgages on it, be very small, must pay the entire tax on its full value. He cannot say: I do not own the whole of this property; Mr. Smith as mortgagee has a proprietorship of two-thirds in it; go to him for his part. This will not answer; the owner, as he is the one who handles all the rents, must pay all the charges in their order, and the taxes come first. The experiment has been tried of making the owner pay only upon his equity, that is, the full value minus the mortgages, and the mortgagees pay to the extent of their claims, but this has been found impracticable and the other way is adopted.

Personal property is defined in the statute as "chattels, money, things in action, debts due from solvent debtors," etc., etc.; nearly all the rest of the definition refers to various kinds of debt. Thus we see that most of the personalty which can be reached will necessarily be debts. The law recognizes that one debt offsets another; that every obligation of one person is a right of another person, and *vice versa*; hence it establishes for personalty a totally different mode from that applied to realty. It is based upon the net balance or present worth of the individual or person; it is applied *in personam* and does not touch each asset specifically.

In assessing the personal property of a citizen, the total amount of his assets, including debts receivable, is taken, and his liabilities, or in the words of the tax law, "his just debts," deducted therefrom. Debts re-

ceivable are in whole or in part offset by debts payable, and this would seem to be equitable, for if no such offset were permitted persons in active business would certainly be taxed four or five times what they are worth. Every merchant has large amounts receivable for goods which he has sold on credit, but on the other hand he owes large amounts for the same goods. Modern business can be done in no other way. A network of debt extends all over the state, and if it were evenly distributed all indebtedness would, by the operation of offsetting, be exempt.

This is the reason we hear so much clamor about personal property "escaping taxation." In so far as it is composed of debts, and in so far as those debts offset each other, it ought to escape.

There is one very important sphere in which this right to offset makes a vast difference, that is in the savings banks. As is well known, our savings banks are large holders of mortgages, being allowed to invest 65% of their deposits in that way. Now a savings bank in this state is a purely mutual concern; there is no capital stock; all the assets are owed to the depositors. Therefore, in a case of a savings bank, the liabilities just cancel the assets; there is no net resultant to tax. But, under the new law, so much of the assets of the savings bank as consists of mortgages will be taxed specifically, just as real estate now is. Thus the immediate result of the law will be to take from the savings bank—that is to say, from the depositors—a large part of its or their earnings.

It is curious to see how completely this condition has been misapprehended by a recent writer upon this very subject. The professor of political economy and finance in Columbia University writes thus: "So long as the tax is not specifically assessed on the depositors of savings banks, the tax will be paid, *not by the depos-*

itors, but by the stockholders, and there is no reason why they should not pay."

This is certainly remarkable. The professor evidently writes under the belief that our savings banks are business concerns, just like the national and state banks, and that they have a body of stockholders who take the profits after paying interest to depositors. If our saving banks were of this class, they would deserve no special protection more than any other business corporation. The whole structure of his argument falls to the ground if it is built on this colossal blunder.

This writer also misses the point of the change introduced into our law by the novelty of taxing the entire assets, instead of assets minus liabilities, when the assets are composed of mortgages. He speaks as if there were no legal way of avoiding the payment of taxes on mortgages except by perjury. He overlooks entirely the offset principle and thinks that the only reason why mortgages do not now all pay taxes is that the owners dishonestly "swear off" and take the chances of being caught, for which they pay a "risk premium," which he estimates at about one-half of one per cent. Surely he does not believe the popular clamor to the effect that the long line of citizens who visit the tax assessors for purposes of correction are mostly liars and perjurers.

Under the proposed law, mortgages alone are singled out from all the body of personal property (mostly debts) and placed under a separate head, where the assets, not assets less the liabilities, form the taxable entity. The only reason I can see is that it happens through the operation of our registry laws that most of the mortgages are publicly recorded. Hitherto, registration has not been compulsory, but the record gives notice of the priority of the lien. A provision of the new law makes the unrecorded

mortgage absolutely invalid and this new principle is regarded by lawyers as very dangerous in its application.

Advantage is taken of the fact that mortgages are usually recorded, to exact the tax, and this tax is made specific, *in rem*. The mortgage is to be taxed because it exists, it is taxed *per se*, not as a component part of its owner's estate. This seems gross injustice toward the holders of this kind of investment who have other liabilities. The same man may be both mortgagor and mortgagee, but both mortgages must pay; while if he is the maker of promissory notes, and on the other hand is payee of other notes, they offset each other.

The mortgage tax, therefore, if it is a tax upon personalty, makes an invidious distinction against mortgage debts as compared with all other debts; and this is unfair.

But will it remain a tax upon personalty? Have not the legislators so contrived that, as they have applied the methods of realty to this one species of personalty, so it will become a realty tax by being shifted to the owner? It is unnecessary for me to argue this point in this magazine. We all know that as soon as existing mortgages expire, the tax of one-half per cent will be paid by the mortgagor. We must then consider it also as a real-estate tax. In this view, it is just, fair and equitable?

Emphatically, no. The entire state tax so far as derived from real estate will be borne by a certain part of the real estate, selected upon a novel and remarkable plan.

Real estate for state purposes is to be taxed, not by its area, not by its cost, not by its value, not by its productiveness. How? You would never have guessed: by the amount of mortgage upon it. No mortgage, no tax; big mortgage, big tax; little mortgage, little tax.

The fact is, the whole thing is based upon a misconception. When I buy a piece of property for \$10,000, on which I pay \$4,000 cash, and my neighbor pays \$6,000 for which he takes my mortgage, there is not, in spite of all the legislation in the world, any \$16,000 of value there. There is exactly \$10,000, and no more. We have together purchased \$10,000 worth of property and paid \$10,000; that is all there is to it. Had we bought in our joint names, we could only have been taxed on \$10,000. Why is it any different when one of the owners has a definite instead of a proportional share? Does the fact that one of the partners can only claim \$6,000, no matter how much the value of the property increases, make his partial ownership a distinct entity, subject to taxation, after the whole property has once been taxed? The property itself is taxed and the mortgage indebtedness is taxed extra; with a full valuation of the property there is then a taxable body consisting of the total valuation *plus* the total debt thereon.

The advocates of the law, including Professor Seligman, point to the fact that the local rate will be reduced by the operation of the new law, and hence, in the professor's words: "there would be a substantial saving to the real-estate owners *as a whole*." We know practically that the local rate will *not* be reduced, but, even if it were so, would that justify an unfair distribution between the two kinds of real estate, the mortgaged and the unmortgaged? If I have two loaves of bread, does it help my starving neighbor to have it demonstrated that we have an average of a loaf apiece? If I have a piece of property heavily mortgaged and heavily taxed, it does not console me to know that my neighbor is lightly burdened and that "as a whole" our loads are moderate.

To exempt unmortgaged property from all contri-

bution to the state expenses is, very largely, to exempt the rich. The Astors and such very wealthy people have, as a rule, no mortgages on their real estate. The poor man who buys a homestead almost entirely on credit and gradually pays off the mortgage is most heavily taxed at the time when he can least afford it. Such is the bill which has for part of its title: "For a more equitable distribution of the burdens of taxation!"

The only other argument in favor of this bill is that it will do away with the everlasting squabbles between different counties as to equalization of valuation. This is certainly a commendable object, but not one that should be attained at the cost of injustice to the individual, if that can be avoided. I will suggest a very simple plan:

Make the contribution of each county proportionate to the total of mortgages on its records. This will give precisely the same result as the Stranahan bill but without such glaring injustice to the mortgagors. Then the local assessors can make their valuations high, low or medium, just as they please, without injuring any other counties, but must include in their budget the state quota as determined by the amount of mortgaged property.

I will not say much of the methods prescribed for the enforcement of the proposed law. Apparently they will be very expensive, very annoying and very complicated. Able lawyers think that some are of doubtful constitutionality. The provisions for obtaining deduction for partial payments are most onerous and apparently the process must be repeated every year. Building and loan associations will suffer most severely, either collectively or through their members. No one must change his mortgage during certain months of the year, or if he does must be taxed afresh for each new

loan; each mortgage recorded between the first Monday of July and the first Monday of September being subject to the tax even if it simply replaces another of equal amount.

I do not know in which way this project is most unfair; while it is a tax on personalty, or after it has become a tax on realty, or in its mode of enforcement.

I do not, however, defend the present plan of taxation of personal property. It is chiefly taxation of debts, and debts never produced anything and should never have been taxed. Their mutual cancellation under our present law should be suspended by abolition of all attempts to tax them.

Again, if it is right to tax debts, it should be at a far lower rate than real estate, for real estate finally has to bear all. The rent which the owner collects has to pay all its burdens in succession: the taxes upon the whole, the repairs, the insurance, the interest on the mortgage, the depreciation, and last the owner's income for his investment and services as manager. Where else can the money come from? It must come out of the property.

After taking one-fourth of the entire income as taxes on the whole, the present law takes more than half of the portion coming to the mortgagee if there are no offsets. This is grossly unjust but the way to remedy it is not to do another injustice.

All taxation of debts should be abandoned.

LIBERTY IN ECONOMIC TEACHING

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—My attention has just been called to your article on "Free Thought in College Economics," in your December issue, and I would like to say that, if your view is correct, any university should frankly assert that its teachers will be allowed to promulgate only theories "sufficiently popular to be generally accepted." As long, however, as such institutions as Johns Hopkins have for their motto "*Libertas vos Liberabit*," and would have the public believe that they are entirely untrammelled in their search for truth, and that an investigator is all the more honored who destroys the popular belief as to the authorship of some line of the *Iliad*, the composition of some gas, or the motion of some star, then it is arrant hypocrisy to adopt the view you championed without frankly abandoning the claim of absolute liberty, which is made by all our great universities. Of course I use the Johns Hopkins merely as typical. My point, you see, is that if your view is the correct one most of our universities are hypocrites, since few if any have ever publicly acknowledged this limitation on freedom in economics, so far as I am aware, although I do think that very many of them are practically acting according to your view of the matter.

Again, in disagreement with your position, I hold that it is more important for a state university to encourage liberal teaching in economic and social lines than it is for a private college, because the latter is sustained by only one class in the community—wealthy donors—and the trustees, therefore, almost unconsciously are likely to adopt a class attitude, while a state university should represent the whole people. An in-

stitution supported by public taxation should give all sides of important social movements a hearing, and to that end it should have at least three or four professors representing different points of view in economics and sociology. So far from attempting, as you suggest, to be especially conservative it is the peculiar duty of an educational system supported by taxation to develop good citizenship, and to do that requires a great belief, among the professors, in democracy. The very existence and development of our institutions demand this liberal spirit in our citizenship and in our teaching.

In your article you indicate that a state university should not be as progressive in searching out new truth as is a private institution, because it is not the function of the state to be the initiator of experiments—at least, that seems to be your thought. Yet at other times those who agree with you in general, and I think you yourself, are ready to oppose public ownership of natural monopolies on the ground that the state is not progressive. In other words, you oppose certain activities because the state is not progressive, and then oppose the state because it attempts to be progressive. As a matter of fact, the most progressive experiments in one very important field, that of agriculture, are altogether in the hands of the state to-day, as the examination of the state agricultural colleges will prove. These institutions have done wonders in leading the way in new methods of farming. Why should a state institution be precluded from similar forward movements in the teaching of economics and sociology?

EDWARD W. BEMIS,

Bureau of Economic Research, New York.

The terms liberty and freedom are frequently used as if they implied entire absence of restriction. Yet there is no such freedom in society. This is the free-

dom only of the savage. Freedom implies not merely the right to do but the protection in doing. The power that protects freedom also prescribes its limits. In society one man's freedom is conditioned by another man's rights. To have the freedom to do, regardless of societary interests or the freedom of others, is anarchy. It is subversive of the highest freedom, because it destroys the collective protection society gives to the maximum freedom of each individual.

In the first place, no theory of liberty, either of teaching or of action, can be defended which does not recognize the fundamental fact in civilization that the preservation of the interests of society is more important than the interest of any one or any small number of individuals, and that in the last analysis the opinion of society must constitute the final appeal on all matters which affect society.

Educational institutions, whether established by endowments of private individuals or by state appropriation from taxes, represent society. In either case the interests of society and the societary consensus of opinion must be recognized or the institutions cannot remain. If the institutions are supported by generous-minded individuals who are interested in education, it goes without saying that the management of those institutions receives the support in trust faithfully to carry out the general purpose of the institution as understood by the community and interpreted by the consensus of opinion reflected through the workers in and managers of the institution. The administration of a representative institution is in honor bound to see that the institution be not used for purposes contrary both to the general consensus of the management of the institution and of the community at large, and also of the financial supporters of the work, whether these be private individuals or taxpayers.

The limit line of individual innovation within established institutions is not the same in all subjects. In the domain of the physical sciences like astronomy, physics, chemistry, geology, botany, and of history and literature, there are practically no limits. In these fields of investigation and generalization entire liberty of individual innovation should be and is, not merely permitted, but encouraged. But in the domain of religion, morals and sociology the case is quite different. In the first case the new theories affect individual and societary action very slowly and with the greatest indirection, and consequently never can bring about any detrimental disturbances. In the latter case the innovation, if radical, may involve dangerous social eruption, undermine the moral basis of social order or the economic security of property rights and interests, and thus destroy the safety of industrial action and arrest progress.

Professor Bemis seems entirely to overlook this important difference in the social character of these two classes of problems. He appears to see no difference in this respect between chemistry and sociology, for he says: "As long, however, as such institutions as Johns Hopkins have for their motto, '*Libertas vos Liberabit*,' and would have the public believe that they are entirely untrammelled in their search for truth, and that an investigator is all the more honored who destroys the popular belief as to the authorship of some line of the Iliad, the composition of some gas, or the motion of some star, then it is arrant hypocrisy to adopt the view you championed without frankly abandoning the claim of absolute liberty, which is made by all our great universities."

In the subjects to which Mr. Bemis here refers, no educational institution puts any restraint upon investigators. There is no ethical or social motive for so

doing, because the discoveries in this domain do not in any way threaten institutions which are religiously, ethically or socially sacred or important to the people. To establish an entirely new authorship for the Iliad, or for the lines of Shakespeare, or make any discovery however radical as to the composition of a gas, the discovery of new stars or the motions of old ones, would not in the least endanger any societary institutions. Therefore there is no tendency to do aught but encourage every effort thoroughly to investigate and give frank expression to any new hypotheses regarding these subjects. They will immediately become the subject of criticism and be confirmed or overthrown. But only the scholars participate in this; the status of society is not affected. The laws of social relations, industrial investment, moral conditions or religious institutions are not in the least disturbed.

But when we come to the other group of subjects the same unrestricted freedom does not, never did, and cannot obtain. In matters of religion, ethics and social institutions, the people's faith and confidence are involved. For instance, take the divinity schools in our universities. Here is a professor who has been investigating the subject of theology, and he has arrived at the conclusion that atheism is the true gospel, that the idea of God is all a superstition, that church and creed are based on fallacy, and have neither history nor logic to sustain them. Is there any reason in ethics or intellectual freedom why the professor who has arrived at that conclusion should continue to use the institution to teach that new theory, which in its very nature makes war on the religious faith upon which much of the moral conduct of society rests? Of course not. Ordinary sense of society-preservation forbids; it would be an abrupt violation of the religious sense of the com-

munity, which would be demoralizing to society and highly injurious to public welfare.

There is but one course for a person who becomes so utterly out of touch with the consensus of opinion on his particular subject of instruction, and that is, to segregate himself and try to form a new group and develop a new consensus of opinion. Indeed, that is what has ever been done in the progress of society.

The same is true of ethical problems, but to a less definite extent, because the views and convictions sacredly held by the community are less definite on ethical than on theological subjects. But if a professor of moral philosophy should arrive at the conclusion that misrepresentation, lying and stealing, were justified on some new theory of ethics, he would shock the moral consensus both in and out of the university, and would be regarded as an injury to the educational work of that institution. Does Professor Bemis desire to be understood as holding that such a professor would be justified in assuming that he ought to have the absolute liberty to use the university to teach that doctrine? And yet, if he applies to ethics and religion the theory of absolute liberty to investigate and teach, which is welcomed in astronomy and chemistry, he would have to insist that the agnostic has a right to hold a divinity professorship in a university, or preach in a church, and that the discoverer of a new moral code has a right to teach some ethical basis for lying and stealing.

Now, in sociology the same law obtains. Economics and sociology deal with the questions not merely of individual relations but of the relation of society to property, home, and social and political institutions,—in short to everything that affects the personal rights, protection of property and general security of individual effort in the community. All the wealth and institutional

advantages of civilization are at stake. Here is a professor in a college who has arrived at the conclusion that private ownership of property is robbery; that justice demands the confiscation of existing wealth and its redistribution to the community. Are we to understand that on the theory of absolute liberty the university is to be used by this individual to advocate disruption of existing economic and social institutions, contrary to the consensus of the best current opinion both inside and out of the university? In other words, is it to lend its influence and wealth to the support of a person who propagates the idea of destruction of what it regards as the sacred institutions of civilized society?

On matters pertaining to the rights of life and liberty, of the safety of property and social institutions, which affect the welfare of the community, educational institutions are the intellectual bulwark. So far as they touch these matters at all, they are brought into existence to disseminate sound principles for influencing conduct conserving these institutions. Any sudden theory of disruption generally propagated would be a social and moral calamity to the community. It would disturb public faith in institutions, and consequently tend to destroy the efforts of economic and social development. Why should society be subjected to the risk of chaos by officially teaching this new unverified notion. It is merely the honest conviction of a single individual, who may be right, but who is more likely to be wrong, because existing institutions are the result of slow, painful experience; they have been put through the crucible of antagonism and the test of experiment every inch of the way. To have a theory advocated, therefore, which runs counter to this, carries the presumption of error with it and justifies reluctance of acceptance, because cumulative experience carries a

stronger presumption of correctness than the new conclusions of any single mind.

It does not matter for the purposes of the general doctrine upon this subject whether an institution is a corporation supported by the voluntary endowments of individuals or is a state institution. If it be an institution sustained by private contributions, those who contribute have the right to object, and the community whose institutions are to be injured by it has even greater right to object. If the institution be a state affair, supported by taxes, then the public has still more right to protest, because a state institution should be more representative of the public even than a private institution. When an institution is supported by the enforced taxation of the community it should be representative of the consensus of the community. In spheres of knowledge where religious, ethical and social conduct, the stability of the home and safety of property, depend upon the integrity of the accepted view, the community's educational institutions should stand for the general conservation of that view until a new hypothesis has been verified in the light of experience and opinion. A new doctrine on subjects in which the opinion of society affects the social life and conduct of the people should establish independently its own claims to acceptance, and should be recognized only in proportion as it can make headway under public criticism and establish a consensus in its favor. Any claim to use established institutions for the advocacy of their own disruption is illogical, unphilosophical, and contrary to all experience through which existing institutions have been evolved.

THE SOUTH'S "LABOR SYSTEM"

THE EDITOR

Under the heading "Catching at Straws," the following appeared as a leading editorial in the *Atlanta Journal* of February 15th. To avoid even seeming unfairness we reprint it entire:

"A subscriber calls our attention to an editorial in the *Baltimore Sun*, commenting on the recent utterances at New York of President Gunton, of the 'Institute of Social Economics,' in which he proposes that New England competitors of southern cotton mills set to work deliberately to disorganize our labor system. We have not seen a copy of Mr. Gunton's address, but *The Sun*, which is a reliable newspaper, quotes him as follows:

" 'Northern mill owners would be wiser to spend \$100,000 now in raising the condition of the southern laborer, rather than spend in a few years to come many times that amount in attempting to reduce the wages of their own men. One great hope lies in the labor agitator, who is now slowly closing in upon the southern mills and compelling an increase in wages. In the next dull period the north and the south will be forced into such a serious competition that the one or the other must give way. The South has been a drag on the nation for years, but now acute race prejudice in that section has nearly ceased, and there is a complete union with the North. The struggle is now an economical one, with no chance of force becoming the arbitrator. Instead, industry will decide the issue. The South attracts capitalists, for the cotton mills running there are making 30, 40 and 60 per cent. profits every year. The machinery is the best.'

"On this *The Sun* remarks:

" 'It is hardly creditable to seek to compete now with the South by again breaking up its labor system. It is not fair competition.'

"New England built up an unsound labor system in the South by the importation of slaves. Then, after realizing, she proceeded to tear it down, leaving southern industry in a chaotic condition from which it is slowly recovering. Now that we have a sounder system of labor, this apostle of the 'Holier Than Thou' order proposes to reduce our industrial capacity by fomenting strife between employer and employees, where harmony exists. In this he will fail.

"When New England abolishes the sweating system and makes an end of the white slavery which exists there, it will be time enough to lecture us on our labor matters.

"The *Journal* has no defense to make for injustice to labor in any latitude, but we do not take our lessons from that quarter."

In the first place it may be noted that the lectures referred to are published verbatim in the *Lecture Bulletin* of the Institute of Social Economics. We are unable to find the above passage, but it is not the distorted quoting but the comments upon it that are most significant. The Baltimore *Sun*'s remark that: "It is hardly creditable to seek to compete now with the South by again breaking up its labor system," is more than surprising, it is depressing.

The references to factory conditions in the South in the writer's recent lectures have all been in the direction of urging the adoption of better conditions for the laborers, chiefly the adoption of a ten-hour system, and suggesting that little children be permitted and if necessary compelled to go to school instead of being sent to the factories at seven and eight years of age. Does the Baltimore *Sun* call this attempting to break up their "labor system?" Does the *Sun* want to be understood as contending that a twelve-hour system for women factory operatives, and the employment of children regardless of age, education, health and other conditions, are essential parts of the "labor system" of the South? If so, the *Sun* does not represent the best opinion in the South.

We met many prominent citizens and some large employers who emphatically expressed the wish that a legal limit might be placed on the age at which children should be permitted to go to the factory, because the parents made urgent appeals to have them given employment, which it was difficult for the overseers to resist. Nor is this at all peculiar to the South. It was a common experience in England in the early part of

the century and in Massachusetts and New England in the early 70's. We remember an instance in which the parents changed the ages of all the five children, in the family Bible register, putting them all two years ahead in order that they might get into the factory two years before the legal age. Most stringent and efficient legislation and inspection were necessary to overcome the ignorant selfishness of poor parents and compel the children to go to school a certain length of time before they were permitted to enter the mill. The age limit has been raised several times, until in New York state it is now fourteen years, or sixteen unless the child can read and write.

If it be true that utter neglect of the physical and educational conditions of the factory children is an inseparable part of the "labor system" of the South, as the *Baltimore Sun's* remark would seem to imply, then the South has selected as peculiarly its own the worst features of the factory system, features that have been gradually thrown off by every other manufacturing community. But we refuse to believe this, and repeat that in this position the *Sun* neither represents the demands of the most intelligent laborers in the South, particularly in Georgia, nor even of the best element of the business and manufacturing community. We do not believe that in Charlotte, Spartanburg, Greenville, Atlanta, Augusta, Columbus, Phoenix, or any of the manufacturing towns in the South, a public meeting of citizens would sustain the *Baltimore Sun's* position that unlimited child labor is a necessary or even desirable part of their "labor system."

By way of supporting the attitude of the *Baltimore Sun*, the *Atlanta Journal* taunts New England about its sweatshop system, and adds that it does not want to be unjust to labor in any latitude, "but we do not take our lessons from that quarter." Really, if anything this

seems a little worse than the *Sun*. The *Journal* here practically admits the correctness of what the *Lecture Bulletins* have contained regarding factory conditions in the South, but objects because it comes from the wrong quarter. Can it be possible that sectional feeling is still so strong that the prominent journals of the South will object to humane as well as highly economic legislation because it is suggested by somebody living in the North? If so, even in this they misrepresent the South. The suggestion that the hours of labor be reduced in the southern factories has been urged by the operatives themselves, in Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina and Alabama, and the writer's suggestion was at most only supporting and emphasizing the importance of the movement already begun in the South.

But if the *Atlanta Journal* objects to suggestions for a progressive policy from the North, why doesn't it take the lead itself? Why does it not indicate that it believes in improving the conditions of the factory operatives of the South; that public policy in the South as everywhere else demands that the physical health and educational opportunities of the factory children be protected? We have heard the voice of the operatives in this behalf, but thus far we have heard nothing in support of such a demand from the *Atlanta Journal*.

Last year there was a bill before the Georgia legislature providing that the working age of children should be limited to twelve years. This measure passed one branch of the legislature and was defeated only by a political trick in the other. Did the *Journal* raise its voice in support of that measure? Did it enter its protest against the unfair maneuvers by which the friends of the bill were swindled? In short, has it ever championed the cause of the factory babies? Has it ever said a word against the long hours of factory labor that prevail

through the new South? This child labor bill will soon be introduced in the Georgia legislature again. We shall be interested to note the *Journal's* enthusiastic support of the bill. If it will lend its hearty support to that measure it will earn the universal gratitude of the factory operatives of the South, and of laborers and the cause of humanity everywhere.

The *Journal* is entirely justified in pointing to the sweatshops of New England and New York as a burning disgrace. The whole world is justified in pointing the finger of scorn until that system is abolished. Instead of resenting the suggestion that the East should abolish its sweatshops, we wish every newspaper in the land would scourge New York and New England until for sheer shame the disgraceful blot upon our city civilization is legislated out of existence.

All the evils of the factory system, including the unlimited employment of children and long hours for women, which now prevail in the South, and the truck-store in addition, were once features of the factory system of England and New England, but, by criticism, public protest and organized demand for reform, one after the other of these abuses has been eliminated and the sweatshop system is now under the ban both in New England and New York. Massachusetts has passed a law which it is expected will practically stamp out the sweatshop disgrace. Last year New York passed a caustic law which it is hoped will accomplish much in the Empire State, and if not it should and will be amended so as to reach the evil. This has been accomplished not merely by criticism in New England and New York but by the criticism of everybody who came in contact with it, whether from the North, South or West.

The *Atlanta Journal* and *Baltimore Sun* and every other public spirited journal in the South should en-

courage criticism, from whatever quarter, that joins in the demand that factory children shall have the opportunities of education and be protected against working conditions which undermine the health and morals and intelligence of coming citizens. They should be the leaders in this movement. There is nothing in this movement for shorter hours and better opportunities for factory women and children that will militate against the prosperity of the corporations. Indeed, there never was so opportune a time for adopting this policy. We are in the midst of high prosperity. Corporations are earning large dividends, and they can afford if needs be to yield a little for the improvement of the lives and conditions of their operatives. History everywhere proves that in the long run this is not a sacrifice even for the capitalists, but that intelligent prosperous working people are the hope of progress and prosperity in any country or section. There is no defence to be offered, in this closing year of the nineteenth century, for the conditions under which the factory operatives of the South are now living and working. The only excuse for it is that the factory system in the South is new and in its newness it takes with it the crudities that belong to all new and sudden movements.

The nation, for its own sake, for the sake of the social progress and growth of intelligent citizenship, has a right to ask that the leaders of opinion and sentiment and policy in the South should aid in the speedy establishment of industrial conditions as good at least as those existing in monarchical countries. If the southern papers will not lead in this movement then others must, for the movement must and will go on.

EDITORIAL CRUCIBLE

AT LAST New York state has entered upon the task of reforming its crazy-quilt taxation system. Senator Stranahan proposes to solve the difficulty by levying a special tax for state purposes on mortgages. This practically makes real estate owners, who are in debt contribute to the state revenues and lets those that are not in debt go free. Thus the Astors and other millionaire property owners will escape the state tax, while every struggling owner of a mortgaged home will have to pay. It is said that for local purposes mortgages are to be exempt from taxation, but what of that; the mortgaged property is to be taxed for local purposes at its full value, regardless of the mortgage, just the same as the unmortgaged property of the millionaires. Again, it is contended that this tax will be paid by the mortgagee, as if he would not transfer it to the mortgagor. One might as well argue that a direct tax on sugar will be paid by the refiner. In short, the Stranahan bill proposes double taxation for the poor and single taxation for the rich, and ought not to become law.

A SECOND tax bill has been introduced into the New York legislature by Assemblyman Elsberg. It proposes to make the amount of the state tax in each county proportionate to the amount expended for local purposes. If the people of a given county are especially energetic and progressive, and spend liberally for schools, highways and other public improvements, their state tax will be proportionately increased. This will be sure to operate as a powerful argument in favor of niggardly expenditures by those who are opposed to liberal public improvements. Every new schoolhouse

sidewalk or other local improvement will be opposed with the argument that it will increase the state tax. If simplicity in taxation is to be accomplished without increasing injustice or hindering progress, direct taxation must be abandoned, so that the tax will have the maximum indirectness and distribute itself throughout the community by the automatic process of economic exchange.

MR. TOM L. JOHNSON in a recent lecture in New York city advocated the confiscation of all railroad franchises, and not merely the public ownership of municipal railroads but the making of transit free to the public, paying the whole expense from taxation. Now if Mr. Johnson seriously believes in this brand of socialism, he cannot do better than advocate it often. Nothing would more rapidly determine his place as a leader in social reform. When millionaires want to confiscate other people's property and cling to their own they are apt to be misunderstood. A supreme test for this class of cases was propounded nearly two thousand years ago. It was: "One thing thou lackest: go thy way, sell whatever thou hast, and give to the poor." The young man to whom the test was thus applied "went away grieved: for he had great possessions." The test is severe but infallible. It would put Mr. Johnson "beyond suspicion" as a genuine all-round socialist reformer.

THE LARGE majority by which the senate currency bill was passed assures the establishment of the gold standard beyond the power of any president or secretary of the treasury to alter. This feature of the senate bill is identical with that in the house bill; so that, although the measure for other reasons will have to go to conference committee, on this point there will be no

change and the obligation to pay all indebtedness of this nation in gold will be established by law. No free-silver president or secretary of the treasury can get behind the word "coin" as an excuse or defence for using silver in paying national obligations, and thus practically putting the nation on a silver basis and causing a panic in twenty-four hours. This much has already been accomplished, for which every business man should breathe more freely. If the American people want to pay their obligations in forty-five cent dollars, and thus put the republic on the list of bankrupt nations, they can do so, but only by passing a law to that effect which shall make the American people alone responsible for the dishonorable course. They never can be tricked into it by the maneuvers or audacity of any individual who may, by a political accident or from motives arising from entirely different issues, happen to find his way to the White House. The people through their representative law-making power have now said that all obligations of the United States, interest and principal, shall be paid in gold. That decision, when it becomes law, can never be altered except by the same representative law-making power. It involves no risk to prophesy that the American people can never be induced consciously to pay their debts in anything less than the best money in the world.

THERE IS one important point upon which the house and senate currency bills are widely different. It is on the matter of the endless chain. The house bill terminates it and the senate bill continues it. The house bill clearly stipulates that when greenbacks and treasury notes are once paid into the treasury for gold they shall not be reissued except in exchange for gold. This will absolutely break the endless chain. If this clause remains, the greenbacks and treasury notes can

never again be used to deplete the treasury of its gold, and hence the process of using the greenbacks to make the government go into the market and borrow gold to accommodate private business will be ended. If the banks and business men want gold for their greenbacks and treasury notes they can have it, but they can never again have the treasury notes and greenbacks unless they surrender the gold.

The senate bill provides that when the greenbacks or treasury notes are presented to the redemption department of the treasury for gold they may be taken to the general fund department and there exchanged for gold to maintain the \$150,000,000 redemption fund, so long as there is any gold to exchange. Thus they reenter the general fund and are again let loose into circulation, which perpetuates the endless chain. This difference in the two bills is vital. On this point the house bill should be insisted upon, and the senate should surrender. If the measure finally establishes the gold standard and absolutely terminates the endless chain it will have remedied two of the radical defects in our monetary system. Much more will remain to be done, but these two points are significant steps in the right direction.

IN HIS report for 1900 the New York Factory Inspector very naturally devotes considerable attention to the sweatshop system. After enumerating the difficulties attending the enforcement of the new law, he admits that the almost insurmountable difficulty in the sweatshop problem is immigration. He says:

“Who are the tenement workers? They are mostly, if not entirely, of the ignorant immigrant class who come to the shores of this country. It is a rare thing to find a native American engaged at work in a tenement. The tenement workers are mostly Italians. Among the shop workers and contractors the Hebrews predominate. The dense ignorance of the class of Italians engaged in tenement work makes them an easy

prey to the shrewd Hebrew contractors. The unfortunate feature about the whole thing is the fact that there is no prospect of immediate relief. The steamship companies pour into this country a steady stream of these undesirable accessions to its population. They come and they stay in the densely crowded sections of East New York, making that part of the great city a veritable hotbed for the propagation of every conceivable form of vice. It would help materially to solve the sweating problem if immigration was suspended for the next decade."

This strikes at the heart of the matter. The new law has many excellent features. It is perhaps now the best law there is in the country; with a few slight changes it might be made very efficient and would practically accomplish all that legislation can in dealing with the sweatshop problem. But so long as the flood-gates of immigration are open, and herds of squalor-begotten immigrants can swarm in, no amount of repressive legislation will cure the sweatshop evil. These people are satisfied with the pestilential conditions under which they live and work. Bad as these conditions are to Americans, they are no worse than those from which these people have come. The recommendation of Inspector Williams that immigration should be "suspended for a decade" is solid sense. Unless something is done to that end, no force of factory inspectors can relieve New York of the sweatshop system. If we would purify the water in our own reservoir we must first stop the inflow of the muddy stream.

THE REVEREND DOCTOR Heber Newton is one of the profoundest scholars in the Christian ministry. He is devout, broad, optimistic, inspiring and all-embracingly humane on every topic he touches. Occasionally he enters the field of social economics, where he finds the procession moving all too slowly and is tempted to leave the highway of orderly patient observation and verification, jump fences and ditches and rush "cross lots" to a conclusion. He appears to have been

under one of these spells in his recent address at Cooper Union when he said :

“No more revolting story is told in the history of the industrial world than the tale of the Standard Oil Trust as Henry D. Lloyd has given it. That that story is, on the whole, true must be sufficiently evidenced by the fact that the magnates of the trust have never brought a libel suit against him.”

The fallacy of much of this “revolting story” of Henry D. Lloyd has been many times exposed, and ought not now to be seriously quoted by responsible public teachers, except in so far as it can be substantiated by other evidence. But Dr. Newton’s conclusion that on the whole the story must be accepted as true because the author has not been sued for libel is the most extraordinary of all. If this rule of testing truth is to be adopted, nearly every public man must be deemed to have been proved a rascal and every successful corporation a den of thieves, unless most of the time and money of public men and business firms is spent in libel suits.

To assume that every man is guilty until he has proved his innocence is a reversal of the principle of Anglo-Saxon justice. Let the masses once believe that every man in public life and every business concern is guilty of all the charges hurled against them in the public prints, until they prove their innocence in court, and faith in our institutions and in ordinary humanity is gone. That doctrine is laden with the seed of pessimistic distrust, revolution and anarchy.

FOR CHARACTER, NOT CLEVERNESS

Not more than a generation ago the high and sacred objects of common-school education were these: to cram information into the youthful mind like sausage meat into skins; to "train and discipline" the mental powers. Such a description might be recognizably applicable even to-day, but we have made some real progress beyond that extreme condition. The idea and theory of education have improved, and even the application of methods, but if anything the cramming is more relentless than ever. The machinery has been geared higher, the tension is keener, the whole system grinds away like a factory for turning out a race of fourteen-year-old *savants*.

Of course this "cram and train" theory of education is and always has been arbitrary and utilitarian. It sees little farther than the supposed "practical" needs of the next generation of storekeepers and tax assessors. It drones away on *things* for the sake of the things more than of the principles or ideals they can illustrate. It strives to fit and trim instead of lead. It is egotistically satisfied if it turns out an annual consignment of highly accurate and well-oiled machines; it lacks the capacity of appreciating what is meant by helping to develop a *man*. It teaches facts and names—to be forgotten, because they are not made to signify much of anything real and vital in life; it trains the mind—to cipher. It is on a par with that mouldy old doctrine of economics that all consumption is unprofitable and wasteful except that which is just necessary to enable the workman to go on working.

But all this no longer passes unchallenged, at any rate. We are getting little by little a new and higher

philosophy of education, which lays the emphasis on character rather than on ingenuity and accomplishments. Its ideal is a strong, well-balanced and capable individual, rounded-out and developed on every side,—physical, esthetic, moral and spiritual, no less than the intellectual. Its object is to make a man, who by virtue of his manhood shall become a useful creative force; it is not first to make a worker and deviser who, through that, may or may not come to be a man.

This difference in original point of view and emphasis changes the spirit, character and result of the whole educative effort.

We are still a long way from realizing any such ideal in practice, but there are many voices crying in the wilderness. There are many—and more all the time—to protest against purely utilitarian and short-range methods and aims. The basis of the new thought is all towards a broader and finer educational idea than anything characteristic of our present system.

It is coming to be recognized, for example, that to exaggerate beyond all reason the purely intellectual side of education means positive injury to at least one of the other phases of development that ought to have helpful recognition—the physical; and at the same time means neglect of the two other phases, of greater ultimate importance than either of the others, the moral and spiritual.

The writer's attention is especially attracted to this subject just at present by an address delivered before a recent convention of the Colorado State Teachers Association by Miss Elizabeth Richards, on "The Crowded Curriculum in our Elementary Schools." It is a critical and suggestive paper, bearing along the right lines; and, without ascribing exceptional novelty to the ideas, certain of the points are made and sustained in a forceful and concise manner worthy of a larger audi-

ence than that presumably reached by *The Rocky Mountain Educator*. Reverting, for instance, to the question of the effect on health of text-book cramming, we quote:

"The present curriculum does not tend to health. Children are taught the science of health during each year of their school life, and yet, each year, a large number of pupils leave school with poorly developed bodies, impaired eyesight, and general nervous exhaustion.

"We are wasting time in an attempt to develop intellect in children whose physical condition will not permit the highest degree of intellectual development. Dr. G. Stanley Hall says that 'if going to school does not tend to health, let us turn the children out to grass until they are twelve years old.'

"Where is there time in our present curriculum for the necessary physical culture that will result in permanent good? I feel safe in asserting that, in most schools, the time devoted strictly to physical culture does not exceed fifteen or twenty minutes. One who has spent years in the study of child-life says that one-third of the time spent in school should be devoted to the development of the physical powers. This would include music and voice-culture.

"In order to accomplish the work required in our present curriculum, it is necessary to spend from four to five hours of the day in close application to study or recitation, and from one to three hours in home-study. I have conferred with parents in regard to the required home-study—parents who are awake to the interests of their children, and whose children are the earnest, conscientious students of the grades, and I find them of one opinion: the work of the grades is excessive, the best portion of the evening is devoted to school work, there is no time for other reading, there is not sufficient time in many instances for necessary recreation."

Again, referring to the tendency of current methods to force and stuff instead of guide and help:

“The law of childhood is life. A child will grow if he is given a chance to grow—slowly, perhaps, but naturally and surely. Our present curriculum, like Dickens’ ‘McChoakumchild,’ ‘seems like a kind of cannon loaded to the muzzle with facts, and prepared to blow children clean out of the regions of childhood at one discharge.’

“Pestalozzi defines education as ‘the generation of power.’ What power is a child of seven or eight years gaining when he is required to commit the twelve tables in multiplication and do quantities of abstract work in addition, subtraction, multiplication and division? He can accomplish this work only by the exercise of memory, and educational value ceases when memory alone is active. Which child possesses the power, the one who is so ‘snowed under’ with information as to stifle his selfhood, or the child whose free and natural development begets the desire for knowledge? This desire will create an unlimited capacity, whereas the capacity often fails to create the desire.

“Emerson has said: ‘We take a great deal of pains to waylay and entrap that which of itself will fall into our hands.’”

Right; and the same philosopher observed: “You send your children to the schoolmaster, but ’tis the schoolboys who educate him. You send him to the Latin class, but much of his tuition comes, on his way to school, from the shop-windows.” We might with entire safety be far less anxious and insistent, than we are, about drilling every school child in all the details of formal information-studies. If we can successfully equip the young consciousness with *power* rightly to observe, appreciate and reason, we can safely leave it, in this age of civilization, to seize upon a very generous

proportion of the minor details of formal knowledge as occasion or necessity may arise. This implies no recommendation for doing away with knowledge-studies; but, indeed! how easily we could dispense with this high-pressure tension of trying to force the sum of accumulated wisdom and research into undeveloped minds as if under the grim necessity of "now or never." When did it ever become a law of human capacity that there can be no opportunity beyond the schoolroom for reading a line of human history *with comprehension of its real significance*; or of finding out the direction of water-courses in New Zealand, or the relative advantages of single- and double-entry book-keeping? Miss Richards quotes a significant remark of a certain bank president that: "When we take a young man into our employ, we prefer one who has not had too much training in school arithmetic. We prefer to train him for the actual business transactions of life."

Do we not, often, by identifying too closely a profound and vital subject with the superficial detail of a grammar grade text-book, doom in advance the interest and spirit of inquiry that might be applied to it when the age of real comprehension is reached? What if, instead, the emphasis of the school period were placed on rousing that interest and inquiring spirit by showing a vital life and character significance in whatever is studied?

To establish educational methods upon Pestalozzi's plane—"generation of power"—would of course mean a different order of training for teachers, and to a large extent a different sort of individuals as teachers. Character, disposition, enthusiasm, fitness, and the heaven-born gift of sympathy, would be vital considerations;—quite as much so as ability to pass a technical examination. But it would be unjust to bring a complaint against our teachers of to-day for failure to exercise

qualities in the school-room which are neither emphasized in their training nor permitted by the character of the work they are required to do. Under rigid adherence to traditional established studies there is little room for individual enthusiasm or inspiration. What can the formal routine of fact-teaching offer to call out anybody's deepest interest and resources? So little, that both teacher and pupil lose that fine, impalpable, psychological unity of purpose and ambition between the stored mind and the unstored, which is the most essential and helpful thing that educational contact in any form can possibly furnish. The teacher under our popular *regime* gets Miss Richards' sympathy:

“What a sad loss that word school suffered in its translation from the Greek to the English! Does it mean leisure with our present curriculum? No! ‘Hills peep o’er hills, and Alps on Alps arise’ before each teacher and pupil who would attempt to fulfil its requirements. With the present curriculum, and with from forty to sixty pupils, a teacher must spend seven or eight hours in her school-room and devote from one to three hours of each evening in correcting written work and making out reports. She has very little, if any, time in which to come into touch with things outside of her school life, and thereby gain that living and contagious interest in things which affords inspiration to her pupils. Is it very strange that many conscientious teachers and many earnest pupils would fain exclaim as did the daughter of the ‘eminently practical’ Thomas Gradgrind: ‘I am tired? I have been tired a long time!’”

The revised curriculum recently proposed by Dr. C. H. Henderson, head-master of the high-school department of Pratt Institute, before the Eastern Kindergarten Association is thus summarized by Miss Richards:

"1 English language and literature, with special emphasis on the ability to read well, and only passing reference to spelling and writing.

"2. The speaking and reading of one foreign language, say French or German.

"3. Free-hand drawing and color work treated esthetically.

"4. Natural history considered from the surface.

"5. Sloyd, or some form of educational manual training.

"6. Music and voice-culture.

"7. Gymnastics, very thorough-going and directed to the training of the senses and the esthetic development of the body."

In defence of the omission of history, geography and arithmetic from this curriculum Dr. Henderson asserts "that history is more vitally taught by reading interesting stories and lives than by cut and dried study; that geography is best taught by constant reference to a good wall map and globe during a course of reading that has been selected to please children instead of older people, and which consists largely in books of travel and adventure. Arithmetic would be taught as it is involved in the natural activities of the day."

It may be that the entire omission of these three subjects as specific studies is too radical a step; indeed, there are strong considerations in favor of a certain amount of formal instruction on these lines during the last two or three years of the elementary school period; but the spirit of the proposed changes is right, and the tendency is right. They are "based upon the principle that only such training as makes for the broadest mental and moral power should receive attention in elementary schools." To this making of mental and moral power physical health is one of the necessary contrib-

utors; out of the joint result spring the conditions which liberate the spiritual nature and so invest life with a transforming quality and significance.

“Education of the brain,” to quote again, “is not sufficient; there must be, above all else, an education of the conscience. It is said that ‘Of two life companions we are eternally sure: God and our own conscience. Happy is he who has made both his everlasting friends.’ Unquestionably, we need more wholesome moral training in our schools if the school is designed to supplement or complete the home training of children, and if the teacher supplants the parent during the hours when the child is under her control.

“The teachers in a certain city in our state made a study of the home training of their pupils, and concluded that 35 per cent. of the pupils had good moral home training. What opportunity for moral training have the remaining 65 per cent., if not in the schools? The duty of prime importance which the school owes to the state is to train its children to be not only intelligent, but just, honest, kind, truthful, healthy citizens. . . . How is it that the noblest of humanity has not reached us through years of application to a school curriculum? To use President Hyde’s striking illustration, it is because, in our school system: ‘We have abandoned architecture, and have become absorbed in decorating, while the pillars of the edifice we would adorn are crumbling under our hands.’ ”

Unduly pessimistic, this is; yet far more largely true than it ought to be or need be.

We are not wholly dependent upon untried theories, now, in looking for truer methods. We have practical demonstrations of what can be done,—the kindergarten for example. That at least is based upon principles fundamentally right. It may not be perfect in detail but it is mainly sound and harmonious in method

and contributes naturally, quietly, and without waste, formalism or forcing, to the full and healthy development of body, mind and character. If the guiding principle of this system should come to dominate our whole educational plan it would not be the first time that the world has had to turn from arbitrary forces to psychological influences for the solution of its deepest problems.

The kindergarten is gaining a surer foothold every year, but the great majority of our educational authorities still regard it with indifference, postpone it as an unpractical fad, and—worse than all—have no appreciation of its spirit, or the possibility of extending it to the later stages of the educational work under their hands. In the great sum of things, this is the most serious responsibility that men are required to assume,—guiding and shaping the formative years of other men's lives, whether in school or out of school. There may come later and additional chances for reading and study, but almost none other for really influencing the qualities that endure. This is nature's one gift of time and opportunity to modify the effects of bad heredity, bring out the sound and wholesome tendencies and inspire a real faith in the "true and the beautiful," before the materialistic (miscalled "practical") side of the world steals a march and develops the cynic, pessimist and selfish opportunist. Rather than a thousand lightning calculators or glib recitationists give us one true man,—even though he halt in his spelling and nod over his cube root.

CIVIC AND EDUCATIONAL NOTES

**Signs of
Civic Spirit** New York city is about to expend a sum, equal to that invested by Chicago in her drainage canal, on a rapid transit underground railway, and with the extensions and additions that may be found necessary before the project is completed it is possible that twice this amount will be expended. American cities have been exceedingly slow to realize the importance and seriousness of municipal problems, but there is no disputing the vigor with which specific propositions are carried out when once public sentiment reaches the point of really undertaking them. There have been many hopeful signs in the last few years of an awakening of civic spirit. At first it is taking the form of handling the great rough problems of the physical necessities of municipalities; we seem destined to wait a good while before the less obvious but equally vital problems of educational, social and political conditions are taken up in a similarly wholesome, thorough-going way. But it is a great deal to have made a beginning.

**Chicago's
Drainage
Canal** The city of Chicago is justly proud of her great drainage canal, completed late in 1899 at a cost of nearly \$35,000,000 and opened during the month of January. This canal turns back the natural course of the Chicago river and carries the city's drainage westward into the Illinois river, thence to the Mississippi and Gulf of Mexico. Heretofore it had been passing into Lake Michigan and polluting the city's water supply. St. Louis, rather naturally, is fighting the new drainage canal, but it seems likely that in practical experience so large a volume of lake water

will be diverted into the Illinois and Mississippi rivers that instead of increasing the pollution it may actually help to purify, considering the fact that the Illinois has been regularly getting the drainage of a line of large manufacturing towns all across the state. The channel that was necessary to turn this drainage from the Chicago into the Illinois river is twenty-nine miles long and 160 feet wide at the bottom. One-third of the excavation, or about 12,000,000 cubic yards, was through solid rock to the depth of 22 feet, and the whole amount of the excavation was nearly half as much as that for the entire Suez canal. The dimensions of the canal are sufficient so that a further extension to the westward, if made by the United States government as is now being urged, would provide a deep waterway channel through to the Mississippi river; in other words, from the great lakes to the gulf.

**Broader Social
Settlement
Methods**

Methods of work are being expanded in some of the college settlements in New York. The settlement residents, instead of remaining in and working from the association building, take rooms in the tenement houses of the district and thus extend wholesome influences over a considerably wider field. An article in the *Evening Post* shows some of the results:

“Since the settlement workers established themselves amid their new surroundings a mild revolution has been going on about them and on the floors above and beneath. When the curious came to peep in at the doors which are always ajar for that very purpose, there was no one to repulse them; on the contrary, they were invited in. The same bare, dark, unadorned room was there originally, to the knowledge of the tenants; but the stained walls, the clean, polished floors, the spotless curtains and simple, artistic furnish-

ings had changed it into a haven of rest and beauty. The surroundings brought out in contrast the dirt on the little visitors who came in. They recognized it, and there was an effort to improve. Faces and hands were washed more regularly. The bath-tub was cultivated soon, and unkempt locks were washed and brushed. A good portion of the day once or twice a week is now given to scrubbing floors and halls and to cleaning windows by the elder people, and there is a general tidying up every day. In the few weeks since the settlement workers moved into the tenement a perceptible salutary and sanitary change has already been brought about. The workers conduct their regular classes and work in the tenements in which they live."

**The Theory of
Settlement
Work**

Every little while a certain kind of journals like the *New York Sun* indulge in a stream of sarcasm about recent sociological efforts like the social or college settlements. These middle-of-the-century critics see nothing in such work except the fussy and faddish efforts of a group of dudes and "new women" to obtrude themselves on the domestic privacy of other people who, on the theoretical democratic principle, are as good as anybody else, and even better. They always picture the social settlement workers as monocled busybodies, settling down like visitors from another planet amid our unfortunate poor and studying them with microscopes and compasses as an anatomist would study cats and rabbits in his laboratory.

All this is very witty and sharp of course, but it reflects something more hopeless than ignorance. It reflects temperamental and constitutional inability to understand or appreciate the power of psychological influences. This type of mind has no comprehension of the meaning of our new conditions; it argues as if

we were still in the old Jeffersonian period of simple individualistic industry and social life. It does not appreciate the overwhelming fact staring us in the face to-day, that even the force of personal influence demands systematic instead of haphazard application. Social settlement work is sound from both the sociological and psychological standpoints. It is based on the power of example coupled with personal sympathy, and recognizes that example itself, to be effective, must be located actually within the limits of the group it is designed to influence. The slum immigrants are not influenced by the examples of art, cleanliness, culture and refinement they may see when they venture out on Fifth Avenue, but they are affected by clean, decent and wholesome living in the same tenements with themselves, on the basis not of pharisaical superiority but of hearty goodwill and fellowship. This and this only disarms suspicion and provokes emulation.

**Atlanta
and the
New South**

Atlanta is working very hard for a national military park, to be laid out near that city, commemorating the great battles fought there in July 1864. This is urged upon the same theory that justified setting apart the battlefields of Chickamauga and Vicksburg as national parks, and it would be an especially grateful thing just now if the effort were crowned with success. Atlanta, on the whole, is typical of the new spirit of the South in a broader sense than any other southern community. Birmingham might be cited, but Atlanta is a much larger and older city than Birmingham and is a center not only of industrial but of intellectual, educational and social influences more generally than the hustling and thriving metropolis of Alabama, at least for the present.

A northern visitor in these new cities of the South

finds little evidence of the old sectional bitterness. On the contrary, the disposition is altogether to welcome northern industry and trade and cooperate for a new industrial era, southern in its local characteristics but national in spirit. While preserving all dignity and self-respect, too much cannot be done to blot out the last remnants of sectional hatred. The issues of the war are long since dead. To dwell upon them now only delays the progress of industrial regeneration in the South and of the long hoped-for welding together of the two sections in sentiment and spirit, as is already coming to be true of industrial and financial interests. A national park commemorates the heroism and sacrifices of the war. It signifies nothing as to the right or wrong of the struggle, it implies no concession on any civil-war issue. It is simply a testimonial to the fact that the men who fought and fell on both sides typified American valor in defence of causes which the masses on each side believed to be right. If Atlanta wins this park there will be some of course to call it merely one more successful "strike" on congress; to the larger-minded it will be a new visible evidence of the unification of national sentiment.

THE OPEN FORUM

This department belongs to our readers, and offers them full opportunity to "talk back" to the editor, give information, discuss topics or ask questions on subjects within the field covered by GUNTON'S MAGAZINE. All communications, whether letters for publication or inquiries for the "Question Box," must be accompanied by the full name and address of the writer. This is not required for publication, if the writer objects, but as evidence of good faith. Anonymous correspondents are ignored.

LETTERS FROM CORRESPONDENTS

Elastic Currency

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—It seems to be agreed by the best authorities on the subject of banking that the one requisite for an elastic currency is that the issues when excessive should promptly return to the issuing bank for redemption, and that this can be brought about by the system of issuing notes upon business assets, as it would then be to the interest of each bank to present the notes of other banks for redemption whenever they seemed in danger of becoming excessive.

But as it seems impossible at present to abolish the principle of government guarantee and bond security for notes, why is it not advisable to secure this elasticity in some other manner, if possible? For, if we can put in operation any force that will lead to prompt redemption, any system of issues, whether based upon business assets or upon bond security, will be self-regulating, *i. e.*, elastic.

Now it seems to me that this can be effected by inserting in the bill now before congress a simple provision that no bank shall pay out any notes except its own issues, or, in other words, that a note received in the regular course of business by any bank except the

bank which issued it shall not be again paid out; to be, as at present, kept in continuous circulation.

Deprived of the privilege of paying out—"reissuing"—the notes of other banks, the receiving bank's only recourse would be to return such notes through the clearing-house to the bank of issue, in the same way that checks and drafts are now returned. In short, bank-notes would become what they are in reality, simply certified checks, made more convenient and easily transferable by being payable to bearer.

Of course, with this plan, not only excessive issues, but all issues, would be constantly retiring; but this could not cause a stringency for the reason that each bank would be kept by the return of its notes constantly below the limit of issue fixed by its amount of bond security, and therefore would be constantly trying to reach that limit by making new issues as business might require. In times of stagnation, loans and hence new issues would be made but slowly, while deposits, and hence redemption and withdrawal of notes, would be made rapidly, until possibly no notes would be left in circulation. During a period of stringency, new issues would increase more rapidly than withdrawals until the limit of bond security should be reached.

The bank currency would then be perfectly elastic, fluctuating automatically between a theoretically possible minimum of nothing and a maximum of an amount equal to the bonds deposited as security.

Quite possibly this plan would not work well in practice, but I would be glad to have the editor of GUNTON'S consider the idea and explain whether or not there is any merit in the proposition.

RAY ROBSON,
Bath, Mich.

[Mr. Robson's plan would fail to accomplish any important purpose, for two reasons: First; it would not provide for any expansion of currency *beyond* the present limit of bond-secured circulation, which is just where the pressure comes at certain periods and cannot be adequately relieved under the present system. Second; arbitrary cancellation, retirement and reissue of our present bank-notes would avail nothing unless the bonds that are tied up as security for the notes could be returned to the banks as fast and in proportion as they retired any of their circulation. This would hardly be feasible. The only object of daily redemption and cancellation of bank-notes is to provide a constant means of testing and guaranteeing their security, thus avoiding the other and very expensive method of literally depositing with the government a corresponding amount of capital in the shape of low-interest government bonds. Sending our present bank-notes home for cancellation, as Mr. Robson proposes, would neither increase their safety nor enlarge their volume, nor would it permit the banks to take back their bond-security deposits. It would permit contraction of the currency but not expansion, and the contraction provided is not of a sort that would render the bank-note circulation any safer or cheaper than it is already. For a thoroughly scientific system, we should abolish the requirement of bond deposits, permit free issue of notes based upon the assets of the banks and securities furnished by borrowers; and secure the safety of these notes by daily redemption in legal money at large central redemption agencies.]

Not With Us on Boer Question

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—I have long been a reader of your excellent MAGAZINE and *Bulletin* and regard your opinions upon most economic and political questions as thoroughly well grounded, but I cannot be with you on the Transvaal question. You say in your lecture of October 21st that the Boers are “a crude, backward, bigoted people, who have invited the enterprising and energetic citizens of more advanced countries to settle among them in good faith and help develop their country, and now are arrogating all the rights and privileges of government and taxation, with no rights to the others, except to work and pay.” I admit that the Boers in some respects have lacked enterprise, and that, like every people under the sun, especially the British, they are somewhat bigoted. I do not understand, however, that foreigners were invited within their borders with any promise of a voice in the government. It is, I believe, the right of the host to say what are or are not the privileges to be accorded to the stranger who has crossed his threshold, and when the guest has not been especially invited, but has been admitted upon his own solicitation, the privileges accorded are very few.

The Transvaal is the Boers' country by virtue of their being the first to establish and maintain a stable and efficient government in the land. The British have a better right to invade China (for the Chinese are proverbially bigoted, crude and backward) than they or any Uitlanders have to attempt to subjugate the Transvaal.

A person voluntarily making his residence in a foreign country necessarily assumes the obligation of abiding by the laws of that country and without reason

to expect a voice in the government unless accorded voluntarily by the state.

I do not, therefore, see how any people, placed in a position similar to that of the Boers, with the absolute certainty that another and more powerful nation was seeking to subjugate them, could do otherwise than resist even to the extremity of force. There should be no doubt in our minds that the British have been planning to get control of the Transvaal for years. Did not Dr. Jameson, when testifying a few years ago, assert that he had had assurance of support in his enterprise (when he undertook to invade the Transvaal) from the governor of Cape Colony? Are not the dispatches which were sent by Mr. Rhodes to Mr. Chamberlain, and suppressed when testimony was being taken in the Jameson trial, universally regarded as having been of an incriminating character, notwithstanding Mr. Chamberlain's protest that he had had no intimation of a raid upon the Transvaal? Are not the Boers of the Transvaal the same who were driven all the way from the Cape by the British? Have they not been struggling against British encroachment for centuries, almost? I think that we who boast our love of liberty should applaud the brave and determined patriots who for so long have fought for the right to govern their own country in their own way.

To have yielded to the demands of the British and have conferred upon the resident Uitlanders the privilege of suffrage would certainly have resulted in the loss of their independence through the medium of the ballot-box. It would have meant their absolute subjection to Britain. They who have been the governing class would have become a despised and downtrodden minority. It is to their credit that they had the foresight to realize this and to see the necessity of striking a blow for their liberty ere Britain could assemble a

sufficient force to compel submission. It is to be hoped and is even possible that by energetic action they may be able to gain such an advantage as will at least enable them to dictate terms with a reasonable expectation of their acceptance. But, if unsuccessful in their struggle, they will have shown to the world a spirit that even their enemies must applaud.

If Britain were willing to surrender India, Egypt, Cape Colony, Natal and scores of other colonies where she governs as an insignificant minority, we might regard at least as consistent her demand that the majority shall rule in the Transvaal.

W. J. WAMBAUGH,
Jumonville, Pa.

QUESTION BOX

Cuban vs. Philippine Policy

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—Is it not taking rather too much glory to ourselves to say, as you have done several times, that our Cuban policy proves to the world how disinterested and faithful to high ideals and promises this nation can be. This might be true were it not that the same American people apparently coincide in a directly opposite policy in the Philippines. A. G. P. —

No, I do not think it is "taking too much glory." It is quite safe to say that if the administration had shown a disposition to hold Cuba in the same way that we have held Puerto Rico and the Philippines, it would have suddenly become so unpopular as practically to insure defeat in 1900. The difference between Cuba and the Philippines is that at the outbreak of the war we definitely stated that our object was not to acquire possession of Cuba, but only to help the Cubans to their own political freedom. Having reached the point of making a definite statement like this, no president or political party could safely violate the promise and adopt a reverse policy.

Of course, it is the same American people who apparently coincide with the opposite policy in the Philippines, but the Philippine policy is not violating a pledge or promise. The same people endorsed the annexation of Hawaii and Puerto Rico. It is practically a policy born in the Philippines. I did not intend to intimate in the least that the American people are convinced that colonizing is a mistaken policy, but only that when the United States makes a public promise it is not a "bluff." We said in so many words we did

not intend to annex Cuba and we meant it, and Mr. McKinley would fail of reelection if he attempted to break that promise. In negotiating for the Philippines he did not break any promise. That question was open, and the only thing involved was the wisdom of the policy, which the American people have not yet passed upon.

The Tariff and Trusts

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—There is one issue before the country that I would like to see you discuss more freely, and that is the relation of the tariff to trusts. Will you tell me if there is any way by which trusts can be destroyed except by free trade? I ask as a matter of information, irrespective of personal opinions on trusts.

W. L., Washington, D. C.

No, the trusts could not be wiped out of existence by free trade. It would probably happen, as it always does when a havoc is created, that the strong concerns would simply pick up the remnants of the rest. In a business depression a large number of people always go to the wall, but there are some strong ones that do not go to the wall, and they usually gather up the remains, just for the taking. There never was a panic yet that did not round up with making a few men richer than they were before. It simply transfers a lot of property at from five to fifty cents on the dollar to somebody else,—those who are strong enough to withstand the wreck. If we should have free trade with a great business disturbance, the consequence would be that a number of the strong trusts would gather up the weaker industries, and remain in the field themselves. Mr. Carnegie, for instance, is a case in point in the iron in-

dustry. He believed in protection, but he became so strong that no English or foreign concern could compete with him, and then he was quite willing to have free trade, for if we did have free trade he knew it would drive out a great many of the smaller competing concerns. Free trade would not destroy trusts. The only way, ultimately, to destroy the trusts is to establish a policy that will make industrial depression perpetual, because there would be no inducement under such circumstances for capital to concentrate. But if we permit business prosperity to go on, then we will have the successful capitalists coming to the front and enlarging their establishments and range of operations as long as it is profitable to do so.

Cheapness Is Sometimes Dearness

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—When you discuss the tariff subject in your magazine you seem to consider only the producer and ignore the consumer. Has he no interest in the matter of prices? The producers are taken care of but the consumer gets no consideration whatever, no protection. How then does he benefit from such a policy, when under free trade he would get his goods cheaper?

M. C. R., —

It is quite true, the consumer has an interest in cheap products, in getting the most possible for a dollar; but it is equally important that the method by which the cheap article is supplied shall bring with it the possibility of earning the dollar with which to buy it. Take, for example, the case of Puerto Rico. Under free trade our capitalists would go there and use the cheap labor in manufacture, and sell just cheap enough to displace a certain proportion of the American labor-

ers engaged in the same enterprise, thus reducing the consuming power of the wage class and restricting the possibility of large, and hence cheap, production. In proportion as the American laborer is employed and gets high wages he can purchase. In proportion as he is a large consumer, and that becomes general in the community, the market expands and capitalists invest in improved machinery, because with a large market to supply they can use the better methods to greater advantage, make a larger profit and sell cheaper. The result is that prices are lowered for the whole community, without lowering wages, by virtue of the development of the improved machinery. But when the prices are lowered by virtue of employing cheaper labor it defeats the use of improved machinery, by contracting the purchasing power of the community. Lower prices are no benefit when they are secured by means of stagnation and lower wages, but low prices that come by way of new inventions and better machinery are a benefit, simply because in the one case it is the efficiency of invention and science that makes the cheapness, whereas in the other it is the degradation of the wage-earners, who form the bulk of the consumers.

BOOK REVIEWS

THE WHEAT PROBLEM. By Sir William Crookes, F. R. S. Cloth, 272 pages. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York and London.

This volume contains Sir William Crookes' rather sensational address delivered in September 1898 before the British Association, of which scientific body he is the president; also a chapter of "Replies to My Critics," one on "Our Present and Prospective Food Supply," by C. Wood Davis, of Peotone, Kansas; and two contributions from Hon. John Hyde, Chief Statistician of the U. S. Department of Agriculture.

Sir William's address was a very pessimistic prophecy and created a great furor, especially in scientific and economic circles. Indeed, a portion of his remarks sounded more like the voice of Malthus than anything that has been heard since the famous "Essay on the Principle of Population," which warned mankind a century ago to cease multiplying at the penalty of swift starvation.

Sir William estimated the bread-eaters of the world in 1898 at 516,500,000, and the present annual increase of bread-eaters at 6,000,000. The average rate of consumption being 4.5 bushels per capita, it would require 2,324,000,000 bushels of wheat to supply this number of bread-eaters and save sufficient seed for subsequent crops. He then proceeded to estimate the wheat crop of 1897-98 at 1,921,000,000 bushels, leaving a deficit of 403,000,000 bushels; most of which would be supplied for that year, however, by a surplus stock of some 300,000,000 bushels on hand. But in succeeding years there would be no surplus; therefore, he argued, we should be forced at once to open up nearly all

the possible remaining wheat territory of the world in order to supply the normal increase of wheat-eaters, and very soon would have to resort to universal fertilization; or else change to a rice, corn and rye-bread diet. He discussed the undeveloped wheat-producing possibilities of every part of the globe, and concluded that not more than 100,000,000 acres could by any means be added to existing wheat-growing lands. This would yield, at the present average rate of production (12.7 bushels to the acre) 1,270,000,000 bushels, which would supply the increase of bread-eaters only until the year 1931. After that, famine! "Where can be grown the additional 330,000,000 bushels of wheat required ten years later by a hungry world?"

And so he falls back on fertilization as our only salvation; finds that available deposits of fixed nitrogen (the required element) will soon be exhausted, and suggests that a process discovered by himself, for making nitrate of soda by electrically induced combustion of air, will, when Niagara for instance is chained to the work, furnish the required 12,000,000 tons of nitrate of soda annually.

Now all this sounded very plausible, but neither scientists nor agriculturists seemed at all disposed to agree with Sir William. The only supporters he was able to find, apparently, were Hon. John Hyde, of the U. S. Department of Agriculture, and Mr. C. Wood Davis, a citizen of Kansas, who has several times sounded a tocsin of alarm on this subject in American reviews, but without disturbing the repose of nations. Mr. Atkinson issued a pamphlet making the claim that the United States alone could safely take a contract to supply both its own needs and those of Great Britain and Ireland for the next thirty years, at a dollar a bushel. This pamphlet was full of errors and exaggerations; but allowing for all these it is quite beyond

dispute that Sir William Crookes underestimated the wheat-producing capacity of the United States so seriously as to throw grave doubt on the accuracy of his conclusions about all the other sections. For example, in his address he passed over the claims of Canada and British Columbia so lightly as almost to ignore them, allowing for only a few odd million acres yet available in that entire region. Canadian authorities immediately replied with statistics of wheat production in Manitoba, claiming at least 20,000,000 acres of high productive capacity and pointing out that "three or four Manitobas can be carved out of the Westland. When that is exhausted, there remains the Peace River district, where, it is asserted, half the wheat supply of the world can be grown." Suppose we discount these claims by two thirds; the margin still left is so greatly in excess of Sir William's estimates that one is almost forced to the conclusion that he allowed his theory rather than the facts to suggest his data.

Much the same peculiarity is observable in his Australian estimates. He quotes Professor Shelton's estimate that Queensland contains 50,000,000 acres of available wheat land, and, without offering any evidence whatever to the contrary, practically ignores this whole territory. This is inexcusable and inexplicable. His only argument in rebuttal to critics on this point, as also in the case of British Columbia and other sections, is that only very small wheat crops have ever been raised on the lands in dispute; *ergo*, no more wheat can be raised there. But this is so weak as to be not even respectable. Of course these lands have supplied only small crops, because no effort has been made to develop them further. Settlers to do the work and demand for the product have both been wanting. Sir William's economics should have informed him that people do not rush by the ten thousand into the pro-

duction of staples which are already amply supplied and at low prices. The whole question at issue is, not why the present supply is not larger than it is, but how much *can* be supplied when the demand for it arises. Therefore, the fact that a sparsely settled new country has only 150,000 acres devoted to wheat-growing has no bearing whatever upon the question whether or not that country could devote 50,000,000 acres if it became necessary.

On the whole, Sir William's critics, conceding all their exaggerations, made sorry havoc with his estimates and deductions, and really we do not believe any Joseph is needed at present to store up grain against a coming famine. The pressure of economic demand can be relied upon to solve this problem. Let wheat prices get sufficiently high to pay the first expense of opening up vast new and rough territories, and the wheat acreage will enlarge fast enough. Gradually fertilization will come into use, to increase the profitableness of existing wheatfields and supply the world's growing demands, and it will be applied elsewhere as fast as it seems to promise any important economic advantage. Tropical-zone nations will probably never become wheat consumers, and there is really no such "colossal problem" to "tax the wits of the wisest" facing the world to-day as Sir William Crookes would startle us into believing. Whether it be good prices and hence more acres, or artificial fertilization as Sir William predicts, the movement will be gradual and normal, obeying natural physical and economic laws. Modern industrial civilization has too many ways of forestalling and dissipating any sudden world-wide catastrophe. Let us go on eating our daily bread in peace.

THE BREAK-UP OF CHINA. With an Account of Its Present Commerce, Currency, Waterways, Armies,

Railways, Politics and Future Prospects. By Lord Charles Beresford. Cloth, 456 pp., exclusive of appendices. With maps. Harper & Brothers, New York and London.

This is an interesting book, though not very interestingly written. It contains a very plain matter-of-fact statement of the conditions on a large number of important matters affecting the industrial opportunities and trade of China, particularly as a market for American and European products.

Lord Beresford went to China as the special representative of the Associated Chambers of Commerce of Great Britain. Although the presentation of the material shows a lack of the expert, it contains many facts of value to students. There are a few things that Lord Beresford calls attention to with almost cruel plainness. One is the fact that British influence in China is "in inverse ratio to British trade." One would naturally suppose that as British trade increased British influence would be correspondingly extended, yet the reverse seems to be true. On page 13 his lordship says: "A prominent bank official summed up the situation very tersely by saying, 'Sixty-four per cent. of the whole foreign trade with China is British. There should be a corresponding percentage of influence, but British influence is in inverse ratio to British trade.'" Why are the British disliked or distrusted in proportion as their trade increases? Is it that they trade unfairly or that they take undue advantage, swindle the natives, or what? If they gave better goods for the money and longer credit on better terms, one would think that they would grow in favor.

For some reason or other Lord Beresford became thoroughly convinced that British prestige in China is far below Russian. He says (p. 12): "From my conversation with Chinese authorities, foreigners as well as

British, in Peking, an opinion was distinctly formed in my mind that British prestige is certainly below that of Russia. I hardly ever made a suggestion to any prominent Chinese official which I thought might tend to the security of Anglo-Saxon trade and commerce, that I was not met with the question, 'But what would Russia say to that?' or words to that effect. The idea is gaining ground all over China that Great Britain is afraid of Russia."

He then cites several cases which he says are referred to by Chinese which seem to justify this opinion. This it would seem can arise only from one of two things, either that the Russians treat the Chinese better than the English, or the English do not so promptly defend their interests and hold out assurance to the Chinese that they will stand by them to the same extent that Russia does. In either case it would seem that Russia is getting the best of it. If England hopes to lead in industrializing China, her merchants in their daily course of business must make the Chinese prefer to do business with them on other accounts than mere cheapness, and as a nation England must stand ready to protect their interests and defend the Chinese in preferring British to Russian industrial acquaintance.

Another fact of considerable significance presented with great plainness is the growing superiority of American over British products. American locomotives, for instance, are being definitely preferred in China to English. He says (p. 28): "I found Mr. Kinder was employing engines of American manufacture—Baldwin's. On inquiring why he was giving up using English engines he gave me the following facts:

"He had applied to several English firms, but they could not deliver according to his specification, either as regards price or time. The English price was £2800, with twenty-four months to deliver. The Ameri-

can engines were only £1850, with four and a half months to deliver. . . . The couplings used throughout the North China railways are the American automatic coupling, costing £10 per car."

Speaking of cotton goods he gives the same testimony. "Of late years," he says (p. 58): "English-made goods have been losing ground, while American have been advancing." In 1893 importation of American drills was 100,000 pieces, in 1897 349,000. Of sheetings, in 1893 252,000, in 1897 566,000. Of English drills, in 1893 80,000 pieces were imported, and for 1897 the amount is not given. Of English sheetings in 1893 71,000 pieces were imported, and in 1897 only 10,000; showing a marked decline in the use of English drills and sheetings and a rapid increase of American fabrics.

Of the railroads in China Lord Beresford gives a very concise and definite account. He classifies them under three heads: first, built; second, in the course of building; third, projected. Of the railroads completed, owned by Chinese, there are 317 miles. In process of building, by Chinese 170 miles, by Belgians 700 miles and by Russians 1,400 miles, or 2,270 miles in course of construction. There are 2,507 miles of railroad surveyed and projected, of which 97 miles are Chinese, 430 German, 730 British, 700 Anglo-American, 130 Russo-Chinese, 420 French. There are 1,070 miles projected still unsurveyed; of this 600 miles are Anglo-German and 470 British. This gives a total of 317 miles completed, 2,270 in course of building, and 3,577 projected.

The 3,577 miles of projected railways are distributed among thirteen roads as follows: the Taiyuan Fu-Chengting Railway, 130 miles; the Kiao-chow-Yichow-Tsinan Railway, a triangular line joining these three places, about 430 miles; the Tientsin-Chinkiang Railway, about 600 miles; the Hankow-Canton-Kowloon

Railway, about 700 miles; the Pekin Syndicate Railway, 250 miles (not including branch lines); the Tonquin-Nanning Fu, 200 miles in Chinese territory; the Langson-Nanning, 100 miles; the Pakhoi-Nanning line, 120 miles; the Shanghai-Nanking Railway, 180 miles; the Pu-kon-Hsin-Yang Railway, 270 miles; the Soochow-Hangchow-Ningpo Railway, 200 miles; the Burmah Extension to Yunnan, about 300 miles; the extension of the Shanhaikwan Railway from Kinchow to Sin Min Thun, 97 miles.

Lord Beresford is evidently strongly convinced of the wisdom of the open-door policy, and looks with grave doubt upon the system of "spheres of influence." He thinks it better for China, better for the commerce of all nations, and better for civilization, that commercially every nation should stand on an absolutely equal footing in the Chinese market entering through a constant open door. He says:

"If the 'Open-Door' policy is maintained throughout China, the more countries who employ their capital and energy in making railways, the better it will be for British trade; but in order to secure the 'Open-Door' policy, it may be that we shall have to concede to other countries preferential rights, or spheres of interest, as far as railway enterprise is concerned. This we have already done with regard to Germany in Shantung and Russia in Manchuria, and the question arises, What is our position in the Yangtse Valley, where other powers possess railway concessions? In my humble opinion, it would be better for Anglo-Saxon trade and commerce if we keep clear of 'Spheres of Influence' in every shape and form, and adhere firmly to the 'Open-Door and Equal Opportunity' policy."

THE RACES OF EUROPE: A SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY.
By William Z. Ripley, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of

Sociology, Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Cloth, 590 pp. With appendices. D. Appleton & Co., New York.

The decline in the doctrine of the divine right of kings naturally carried with it the decline of the theory of divine government of society, by either church or state, or both. In this as in every sphere of human thought and action old theories are never overturned by the mere iconoclast. Any doctrine, however untenable, will hold its own as against nothing. Hence the effective overthrowing of erroneous theories always comes by the substitution of more acceptable and usually more rational theories.

In the sphere of sociology this is even more conspicuously true than in political government, because the motives which so frequently inspire arbitrary action through brute or military force are lacking in the evolution of social theory. The tendency, therefore, is to furnish a logical philosophic explanation for the evolution of social phenomena, and so place the study of human progress on a scientific basis. This effort to scientize societary action and establish a philosophy of social progress is itself an evolution.

The first efforts in this direction were to furnish a philosophy of history, which should reduce the historic changes in society, in its religious and political structure, to some general law; to remove the great changes of social structure from the arena of mere accident or personal caprice of rulers.

Among the first to impart a truly philosophic spirit to history was Auguste Comte, who indeed was the author of the word sociology. The work of Darwin, so irresistibly supported in the various phases of societary movement by Spencer, Wallace and Fiske, has practically transferred the consideration of all phases of social movement to an evolutionary basis. This is true

not merely in the development of industries, ethics and politics, within national groups, but the movement of the nations, the formation of their types of character, religious ideals, ethical standards and political institutions, are also coming to be treated from the same standpoint. Buckle, in his "History of Civilization," made a powerful contribution toward establishing a philosophical point of view of race character and social institutions. But Buckle, like Comte, if not unacquainted at least was not familiar with economics and the history of industrial evolution, which is ever the basis of the higher social differentiations.

Buckle saw that a certain amount of wealth, or even a relatively wealthy class, was necessary before much great improvement could be obtained in social life and institutions, but he was just familiar enough with the postulates of the Smith-Ricardian economics to believe in absolute *laissez faire*, trusting to unaided competition to do all the work of progressive society. The abolition of collective authority in both church and state, or what he called the "freedom of the human mind," was all that was necessary to insure progress.

Hence the great philosophic generalization of Buckle was that environment and freedom, or non-interference by the state, were the essential conditions of progress. Tropical climate or natural abundance, according to him, make labor unnecessary, hence indolence and inertia become the dominating traits in the character. A pressing environment, where nature is stingy, and untrammelled liberty of effort to overcome it are all that are necessary to give the highest type of civilization. From this point of view he extolled *laissez faire* as the supreme wisdom in public policy, and every form of collective aid or encouragement as dwarfing and depressing paternalism. Few writers have marshalled industrial data with such telling force as

Buckle, and he presented well-nigh conclusive evidence of a general principle that individual efforts, personal and social character, and national institutions are the product of social law and not the creation of accident or caprice. But, instead of presenting a social philosophy or even a complete philosophy of history, he may be said only to have shown the feasibility of establishing a social philosophy, by at least stimulating faith in the idea that natural law rules in society just the same as in any other domain of the universe.

During the last thirty years the tendency has grown more and more to treat history and the development of economic and social institutions as the result of the operation of fundamental principle pervading all society: principle by which all economic, social and political movements become explicable, and enables statesmanship to be intelligent and scientific, the outcome of which is the science of sociology, now at least in the making.

Mr. Ripley's book on "The Races of Europe" is a contribution of data for the use of scientific sociology. It does not aim to contribute so much to theoretic generalization as to furnish data for the basis of generalization. In this respect the work is elaborate and painstaking. It is a collection of important facts collected by the leading investigators throughout the world on the various phases of race characteristics. It is liberally strewn with photographs of race types and with maps showing the predominance of certain characteristics of the different races and countries.

The author has wisely refrained from anything like premature conclusion, contenting himself for the most part with presenting the facts and pausing, as it were, for a philosophic answer which may finally come.

The facts presented by Mr. Ripley do not antagonize the investigations of Buckle, but amplify the oper-

ation of the social law and establish a much wider diversity of subtle varying forces than were reckoned with in Buckle's philosophy. He furnishes abundant proof of the influence of environment on character, but shows in a multitude of ways what Buckle and the previous generalizers overlooked, that at bottom the racial type out of which any given civilization is made has its root in the type and character of the industrial occupations of the people. The facts as presented in this work, from a multitude of widely different types and experiences, appear to converge to establish the conclusion that social life and political institutions are the outcome of industrial habit, and that simple monotonous occupations establish a low type of civilization and institutions. To quote (page 538):

“With men, the impelling forces are reducible mainly to economic and social factors. Most powerful of these movements of population to-day is the constant trend from the rural districts to the city. Its origin is perfectly apparent. Economically it is induced by the advantages of co-operation in labour; perhaps it would be nearer the truth to say, by the necessity of aggregation imposed by nineteenth-century industrialism. This economic incentive to migration to the towns is strengthened by the social advantages of urban life, the attractions of the crowd; often potent enough in themselves, as we know, to hold people to the tenement despite the opportunity for advancement, expansion, or superior comfort afforded elsewhere outside the city walls. The effect of these two combined motives, the economic plus the social, is to produce a steady drift of population toward the towns. This has a double significance. It promises to dissolve the bonds of geographical individuality—nay even of nationality; for a political frontier is no bar against such immigration, provided the incentive be keen enough. At the same

time it opens the way for an upheaval of the horizontal or social stratification of population; since in the city, advancement or degradation in the scale of living are alike possible, as nowhere else in the quiet life of the country.

“The sudden growth of great cities is the first result of the phenomenon of migration which we have to note. We think of this as essentially an American problem. We comfort ourselves in our failures of municipal administration with that thought. This is a grievous deception. Most of the European cities have increased in population more rapidly than in America. Shaw has emphasized the same fact in his brilliant work on *Municipal Government in Europe*. This is particularly true of great German urban centers. Berlin has outgrown our own metropolis, New York, in less than a generation, having in twenty-five years added as many actual new residents as Chicago, and twice as many as Philadelphia. Hamburg has gained twice as many in population since 1875 as Boston; Leipsic has distanced St. Louis. The same demographic outburst has occurred in the smaller German cities as well. Cologne has gained the lead over Cleveland, Buffalo, and Pittsburg, although in 1880 it was the smallest of the four. Magdeburg has grown faster than Providence in the last ten years. Düsseldorf has likewise outgrown St. Paul. Beyond the confines of the German Empire, from Norway to Italy, the same is true. Stockholm has doubled its population; Copenhagen has increased two and one half times; Christiana has trebled its numbers—in a generation. Rome has increased from 184,000 in 1860 to 450,000 in 1894. Vienna, including its suburbs, has grown three times over within the same period. Paris from 1881 to 1891 absorbed four-fifths of the total increase of population for all of France within the same decade.

“Contemporaneously with this marvelous growth of urban centers, we observe a progressive depopulation of the rural districts. What is going on in our New England States, especially in Massachusetts, is entirely characteristic of large areas in Europe. . . .

“This growth of city populations has, then, taken place largely at the expense of the country. It must be so, for the urban birth rates are not enough in excess of the mortality, save in a few cases, to account for more than a small part of the wonderful growth which we have instanced. The towns are being constantly recruited from without. Nor is it an indiscriminate flocking cityward which is taking place. A process of selection is at work on a grand scale. The great majority to-day who are pouring into the cities are those who, like the emigrants to the United States in the old days of natural migration, come because they have the physical equipment and the mental disposition to seek a betterment of their fortunes away from home. Of course, an appreciable contingent of such migrant types is composed of the merely discontented, of the restless, and the adventurous; but in the main the best blood of the land it is which feeds into the arteries of city life.”

Mr. Ripley's work is a timely and important contribution to the literature of sociology. He does not marshal facts from the point of view of a doctrine, like Buckle, nor try to dovetail the multifarious phenomena of human experiences into the law of evolution, like Spencer, nor make the movements of the human race get into an orderly line of three specific phases of development making for a certain social ideal, like Comte, nor even attempt to work out a tendency toward the quasi-individualist social consciousness, like Ward. His special contribution is that of gleaning from multitudi-

nous investigations and presenting the results regardless of their effect upon theory.

Yet out of it all comes irresistibly to the front the great universal fact that regardless of blood, tradition and other environing influences, masterful leadership, strength of character, organizing capacity and leadership toward higher civilization come along with the tendency to differentiate industry, urbanize population, specialize effort and diversify the social life and efforts of the people. The law of social selection for constructive leadership in civilization is thus indicated to be, that whatever effect environment, tradition and other forces have upon social development they operate upon and through the movements toward industrial diversification and urbanization of population. Within the progressive nations this natural or social selection is going on and giving the leadership in intelligence, character and political power to the cities; and in the world the leadership in civilization is just as naturally and constantly passing to those nations whose industrial and social life, and consequently political institutions, have gone through this economic diversifying experience. Consequently, we find everywhere the nations whose industrial life has become static and comparatively monotonous losing all power of leadership, and those nations whose industrial life has been most diversified, specialized and intensified are most advanced in all the phases of social individuality, political freedom and national influence. Witness India and China on the one hand and England, Germany and America on the other. It may be said that the facts show that the Teutonic races exhibit the qualities of leadership; and it is the Teutonic and Anglo-Saxon races that are everywhere diversifying industry, urbanizing their populations, and asserting the principles of human rights, religious freedom and representative government.

NEW BOOKS OF INTEREST

ECONOMIC AND SOCIOLOGICAL

A History of the English Poor Law. Vol. III., From 1834 to the Present Time. By Thomas Mackay. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. This is the supplementary volume to Sir George Nicholls' "History of the English Poor Law", bringing the record down to date.

Monopolies and Trusts. By Richard T. Ely, LL.D., Professor of Political Economy in the University of Wisconsin. Cloth, 12mo. The Macmillan Company, New York and London. Deals with the general concept of monopoly, classification and causes of monopolies, law of monopoly, price, limits of monopoly, permanence of competition, etc.

Heredity and Human Progress. By W. Duncan McKim, M. D., Ph. D. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. Suggests some radical measures for elimination of degenerate classes in the community.

The Principles of Taxation. By the late David A. Wells. Cloth, 12mo. \$1.50. D. Appleton & Co., New York.

POLITICAL SCIENCE

The Growth of Nationality in the United States. By John Bascom. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. Traces the growth of the spirit of national coherence up through the colonial period, the making of the republic, and down to the present day.

First Principles in Politics. By William Samuel Lilly, Honorary Fellow of Peterhouse, Cambridge. G. P. Putnam's Son's, New York. Discusses the principles of political organization under such heads as the foundation, origin, end, functions, mechanism and sanction of the state, and its corruption.

Democracy and Empire. By Franklin H. Giddings,

Professor of Sociology in Columbia University. Cloth, 8vo. The Macmillan Co., New York. Professor Giddings holds that the Spanish war has opened up a new era in which, by the natural forces of evolution, the American republic must expand and take on many of the characteristics of empire.

HISTORICAL

Modern Spain. (1788 to 1898.) By Martin A. S. Hume. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. This volume is No. 50 in Putnam's "Story of the Nations" series, and differs from most of the recent historical studies of Spain in that the author takes rather an optimistic view of the general tendency of the Spanish nation.

Slavery and Four Years of War. By Major-General J. Warren Keifer. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. This is at once an interesting record of personal experiences during the civil war and a discussion of the slavery question in its relation to the great struggle.

Charles Sumner. By Moorfield Storey. Houghton, Mifflin & Company, Boston and New York. This biography is No. 30 in the "American Statesmen" series, and is issued simultaneously with the volume on Charles Francis Adams, by Charles Francis Adams, Jr.

Charles Francis Adams. By Charles Francis Adams, Jr. Houghton, Mifflin & Company, Boston and New York. The period of Adams' greatest service,—his ministry to England during the American civil war,—is the portion of his career which receives most attention in this biography. It is No. 29 in the "American Statesmen" series.

Charlemagne, the Hero of Two Nations By H. W. Carless Davis, M. A., Fellow of All Soul's College, Oxford. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York.

FROM FEBRUARY MAGAZINES

“It [France] must find an outlet somewhere for the mere spiritual waste of its despondency, and, like the rest of us, it has a tendency to dump its rubbish into the public domain. I am convinced that it would be less frivolous in conduct if it were less sad at heart.”

—RICHARD WHITEING, in “Paris Revisited: The Governmental Machine;” *The Century Magazine*.

“They called Lincoln’s assassination the justice of God. The nation’s flag has floated at half-mast in Salt Lake City on Independence Day; it has been dragged in the dust by a Mormon mob. By their own confession the saints sought statehood because they ‘could better redress their grievances inside the Union than outside it.’ ”—ROLLIN LYNDE HARTE, in “The Mormons;” *The Atlantic Monthly*.

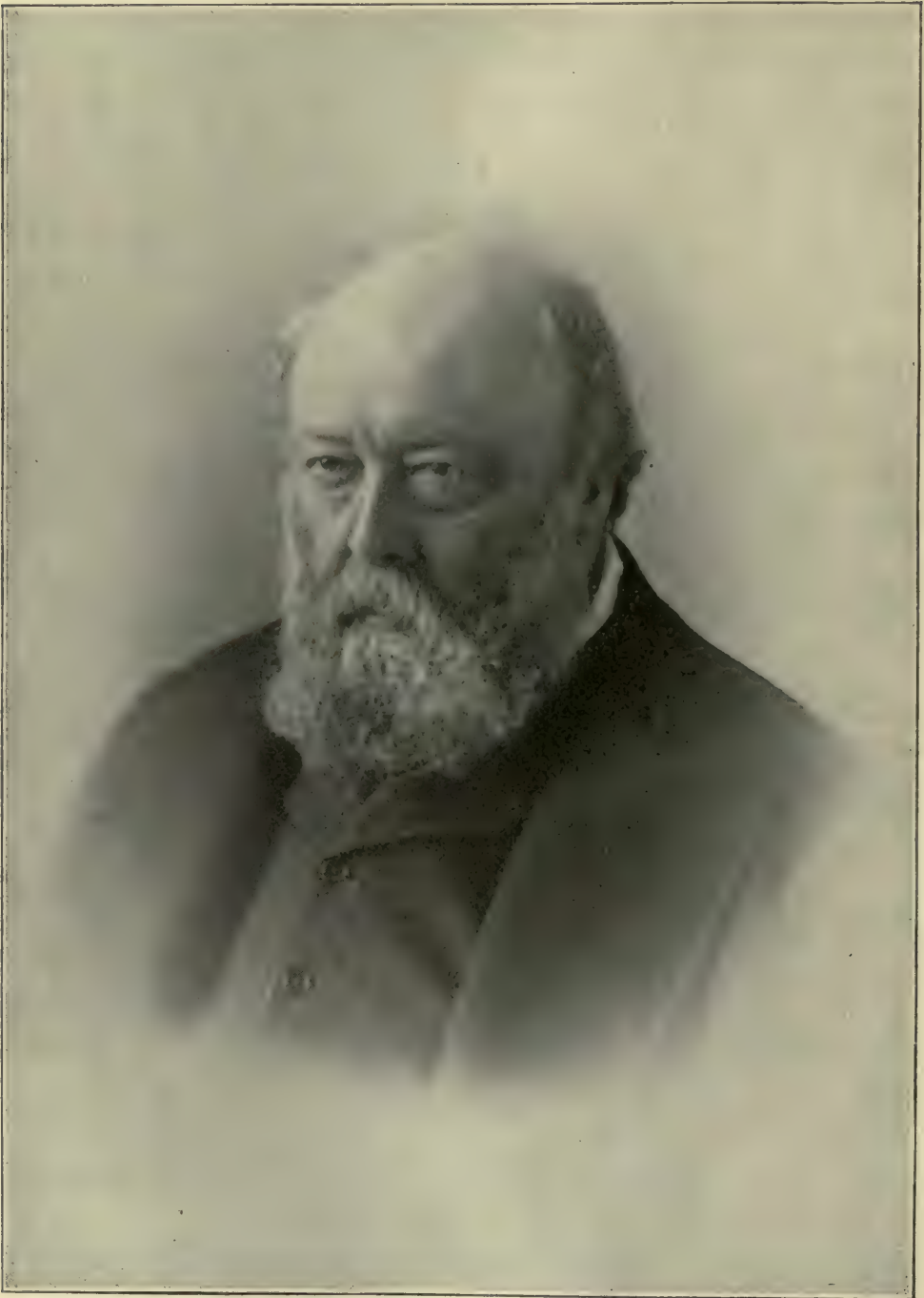
“Now, realism is sometimes very immoral in a sense. It forces upon us the companionship of so many dull persons of the sort that theosophical and spiritualistic ladies might call ‘devitalizing.’ Such we all know; but in life we have a happy way of seeing as little of them as possible. And what is the use of meeting in books, of going out of your path to meet persons who spoil your day’s work for you?—a good day’s work being the Duty to most of us, and so hard to get.”—From “The Point of View;” *Scribner’s*.

“Music, then, the vaguest of the arts in the matter of representing the concrete, is the swiftest, surest agent for attacking the sensibilities. The *cry* made manifest, as Wagner asserts, a cry that takes on fanciful shapes, each soul interpreting it in an individual fashion. Its essence is a musical idea and must be

beautiful or it is not musical. Music and beauty are synonymous, just as are indivisible its form and substance, and it is the sole art in which spirit and matter are one."—JAMES HUNEKER, in Frédéric François Chopin;" *The Atlantic Monthly*.

"The average reporter, eternally gadding about for availability instead of cultivating ability, cares more about succeeding as a writer than he does about the thing he writes about. That is why he is an average reporter. The power to make men interested in the things they have not learned to like is a power that belongs alone to the disinterested man, the man who is led by some great delight, until the delight has mastered his spirit, given unity to his life, become the habit and the companion of his power, led him out into a large place to be a leader of men."—GERALD STANLEY LEE, in "Journalism as a Basis for Literature;" *The Atlantic Monthly*.

"It is the permanent civil service, the government—in a word, the great automatic contrivance that keeps them going in national housekeeping while they are on the rampage. Nowhere else, except perhaps in Germany, is there anything like it for efficiency of a kind. . . . It is a Chinese bureaucracy in completeness, with the difference that it is in thorough repair. As a piece of clockwork it is one of the greatest of human inventions, . . . This is, as I have said, was Napoleon's gift to France, and the wiser sort, who dreads her moods and their own, esteem it above all his victories. France rails against it from time to time, but she would not get rid of it for the world." RICHARD WHITEING, in "Paris Revisited. The Governmental Machine;" *The Century Magazine*.



LORD SALISBURY,
England's Premier.

GUNTON'S MAGAZINE

REVIEW OF THE MONTH

A Reform Outburst in New York

What the Mazet committee failed to accomplish, New York seems to be reaching by the normal growth of wholesome public opinion. The revelations of the last few weeks are appalling; but it is some encouragement to know that public opinion does not grow entirely callous by constant familiarity with vice and crime. Indeed, if the exact truth could be known, it would probably appear that conditions in the metropolis are no worse than they have been for many years past, but the city's moral conscience is keener. The investigation made by the *New York Times* reveals the existence of a thoroughly organized gambling "commission," said to include some men of prominence in public life, absolutely controlling the poolrooms of the city and collecting from them upwards of \$3,000,000 a year, which goes to Tammany Hall in return for protection by the police and other officials. The crusade was promptly taken up by other newspapers, the pulpit and various civic societies, until the Tammany administration was literally frightened into action. Whether genuine or not, the first steps were effective. The police did not close the gambling houses, but the order went out by the commission, manifestly by instruction from Tammany, and suddenly, on the 10th of March, there was univer-

sal closing down. At the same time, by instruction of District Attorney Gardiner, a number of disorderly houses were raided and the proprietors held for trial. The grand jury took hold of the situation with a will, and is hard at work finding indictments, aiming, it is believed, at the real sources of corruption. Some of the police commissioners, even, may be indicted for complicity in a wholesale scheme of police protection for dives and gambling dens.

Finally, since there are evidences that the district attorney will weaken and not prosecute the indictments if anything really dangerous is unearthed, it is proposed that the governor appoint a special deputy attorney general to take the matter out of Mr. Gardiner's hands and prosecute the cases independently. This may prove necessary, eventually.

**Controller Coler's
Struggle**

Undoubtedly, the remarkable attitude of Controller Coler has had much to do with this new movement against organized debasement of the city government. Distrust breeds indifference, but the controller's independent stand has really furnished something upon which the public feel that they can pin confidence. Whether, as is charged, he is only making a "grand-stand play" for popularity, matters little in the immediate situation. He has expressly declared that the city is systematically overcharged for a large proportion of its supplies purchased in lots of less than \$1,000, which the controller is powerless to prevent without bringing an action in each separate case to prove fraud. His bill before the legislature at Albany providing that persons selling supplies to the city in lots of less than \$1,000 must prove that they are not charging more than the market rate, will probably fail. Further, Mr. Coler has shown that in the last two years the corporation counsel

has confessed judgments against the city in nearly 3,300 cases, only 184 of which met the controller's approval. To prevent this a bill has just been fought through the legislature providing that no judgment against the city can be confessed without the written approval of the controller, and if it is for more than \$10,000 it must also have the mayor's approval. This, if it becomes a law, will at least prevent one man from allowing wholesale raids on the city treasury as political expediency may dictate.

**Anti-Ramapo
Legislation**

Still another measure, the outgrowth of Controller Coler's fight on the Ramapo scheme, passed the state assembly on March 14th and the senate on the 19th. This is the Fallows bill, providing that no contract can be made with a private water company without the separate consent of the mayor and controller, and review of all proceedings by the Supreme Court. This protects the city so long as one of these officials is a man of the right stamp, but Tammany may be relied upon to see that another Coler does not get into the charmed circle of the city government. The bill which would give real protection against the Ramapo water scheme is Assemblyman Morgan's, giving to the city of New York the right (which was conferred on the Ramapo Company by the extraordinary law of 1895) to condemn lands within the state for water supply under city ownership. Probably this bill will not succeed; both political machines seem to have the tenderest solicitude for the Ramapo Company when it comes to any really dangerous proposition. The Fallows bill saves the immediate situation, of course; but the public has a right to be thoroughly impatient and indignant that there should be any influence at work in the state legislature able to prevent the further step so manifestly in

the public interest and opposed by nobody who is not directly or indirectly interested in the Ramapo Company's welfare.

**The
Approaching
Campaign**

In the broader field of national politics the situation is muddled. There is no such sharp dividing line between the issues this year as was the case 1896. The silver issue is in the background, and the questions of trusts, expansion and the tariff have become complicated with side issues. The republican national convention is to be held at Philadelphia on June 19th and the democratic at Kansas City on July 4th. The powerful influences which an administration in power always holds can probably be counted on to renominate Mr. McKinley, but it is no secret that some of the wiser guides in the republican party would prefer to make the campaign with a candidate who could not be attacked on the ground of so many complications and waverings in public policies. On the other hand, Mr. Bryan is practically certain of renomination. He retains the support of his 1896 followers and is actually winning over a large portion of the gold-democrat faction, on the issue of anti-imperialism. Richard Croker, as the mouthpiece of Tammany, is enthusiastically for Bryan. Bourke Cockran, who campaigned for Mr. McKinley in 1896, is out for Bryan on the imperialism issue and will take along an important group of like-minded. Andrew Carnegie, it is declared and not denied, will actually contribute to the Bryan campaign fund, solely on the expansion issue. It is quite possible to exaggerate his strength, but it would be extreme rashness for the administration party to make any less thorough preparation for a tremendous struggle than was done four years ago.

**Puerto Rico
Tariff Issue**

Curiously enough, the campaign may be complicated by the revival of the tariff issue, which everybody supposed was shelved for a long time to come. Instead of adopting the president's recommendation for free trade with Puerto Rico, bills were introduced in congress providing for a tariff on Puerto Rican products equivalent to 25 per cent. of the rates on similar articles from other countries. In the house the debate began on February 19th. At once the fact was developed that issues of the greatest constitutional import are involved in the proposition. Whether congress has the right to govern dependencies outside of the constitution, or whether the constitution extends to all annexed territories, determines whether or not we have any right to impose a tariff on Puerto Rico's products. In opening the debate Chairman Payne and Mr. Dalzell, of the ways and means committee, cited a long list of precedents to prove that congress has the right to extend or withhold the constitution in the case of newly-acquired territory. This position was upheld by Daniel Webster, and illustrated in our government of Louisiana and Florida as territories. The opposition, of course, holds that such an interpretation makes congress superior to the constitution, establishes imperialism, and undermines the very basis of our own political rights guaranteed by the constitution. The debate lasted until February 28th, when the amount of tariff to be imposed was changed from 25 per cent. to 15 per cent. of existing rates and the bill passed by 172 to 161, five republicans voting against the bill and four democrats for it. In the senate, debate on the Foraker bill, which also provides for a limited tariff against Puerto Rico, began on March 2d and still continues. A vast amount of sentimental sympathy has been worked up throughout the country on the plea that without free trade

with the United States Puerto Rico will be ruined. Considering that she has never had free trade with us, while the pending bill proposes to give her 85 per cent. reduction in our tariff, the plea becomes trivial. Representative planters in Puerto Rico testify that, with their excessively cheap labor, sugar cane raised on poor land pays at least \$29 in gold net profit per acre, and on good land \$47; while the American producer of sugar cane or beets, using similar methods but paying wages eight to ten times higher, makes not more than \$15 to \$30 per acre. Moreover, both house and senate have passed a bill refunding to Puerto Rico's treasury the amount of duties collected on her products since October 1898, some \$2,095,456.

**Democracy
or Empire**

As Senator Foraker said in opening the debate in the senate, the really important point in this whole dispute is to establish the principle that congress has a right to withhold the constitution from our new possessions so long as that may be demanded by public welfare. "Beyond Puerto Rico," said the Senator, "lie the Philippines. It has been suggested that in our eastern possessions we shall have the 'open door.' If we open the Philippines to the trade of all the world, we shall have the products of the world poured into the United States, and our whole protective tariff system will fall to the ground." He might have added that General Wilson, who is in command of Matanzas and Santa Clara, is already urging free trade even with Cuba, while Secretary Root is said to have agreed to favor a reduction of our duties on Cuban sugar. This is exactly the logic of the whole line of policy which proposes to begin with free trade for Puerto Rico.

The point will be decided, it is safe to predict, not so much by weight of precedent as by weight of what

our real interests will seem to dictate. In other words, we will establish the controlling precedent now. Technically it is true that to adopt the extra-constitutional interpretation means to establish the principle of empire. That is one of the alternatives to which expansion has brought us, the other being to endanger the safety and success of our democratic institutions here at home by admitting to equal industrial and political opportunity groups of population in no wise fitted for such a privilege, however capable they might be of independent government. Clearly, the lesser evil is to have the form of empire with reference to these islands, with the spirit of liberty and practical effect of democracy. The success of our democratic experiment here must be assured at all hazards. The word empire is not pleasant, but of the two unpleasant horns of the dilemma expansion has forced upon us this one involves the least of real danger to successful government by the people.

**Making Hawaii
a Territory**

How great the danger is in including the Philippines, Puerto Rico and perhaps Cuba in our constitutional system appears from the fact that the senate has already (March 1st) passed a bill organizing a territorial form of government for Hawaii. This gives Hawaii a delegate in congress and paves the way to statehood at almost any time. The bill makes American citizens of all persons who were citizens of Hawaii on August 12th, 1898. It prohibits contract labor and extends to Hawaii our Chinese exclusion act. Originally the bill provided a number of property and educational qualifications for voting for members of the Hawaiian legislature. These were finally struck out and the only requirement now is that the voters must be able to read and write either the English or Hawaiian language, except that China-

men are debarred entirely. Needless to say this puts the government of the territory in the hands of a very restricted group, who will be able practically to manipulate the native vote to the extent that the natives understand their own language. We are now face to face with the proposition of having two senators in the United States senate representing this sort of a community, whenever partisan expediency may require it.

**Our Status in
the Philippines**

In the Philippines we are confronted now with the problem of organizing civil government throughout the nearly subjugated territory. All the appointments on the new Philippine commission have been made. Judge Taft, chairman, is to be assisted by Professor Dean C. Worcester of the University of Wisconsin, a member of the present Philippine Commission, also by General Luke E. Wright of Tennessee, Mr. Henry C. Ide of Vermont, and Professor Bernard Moses of the University of California. These gentlemen are to go to the Philippines this spring and try to set up the form of government which has just been recommended to the president by the existing Philippine commission, of which Dr. Schurman is chairman. This plan is said to be practically identical with the constitution drawn up by Pedro A. Paterno, Aguinaldo's prime minister, in 1898, so that it will give the Filipinos exactly the form of government they themselves wanted. Unquestionably this would be a wise step, but it is a curious coincidence that the "half savage and childlike" natives who, we are constantly assured, could not possibly govern themselves, were nevertheless able to draw up a plan of government so well adapted to their needs that our own commissioners in going over the same situation could not improve on it, but come up now with precisely the same scheme.

There has been a great deal of discussion over Admiral Dewey's letter to Senator Lodge, which was read in the senate on January 31st, and in which the Admiral declares that he "never promised, directly or indirectly, independence for the Filipinos. I never treated him [Aguinaldo] as an ally, except to make use of him and the soldiers to assist me in my operations against the Spaniards." But of course this "making use of" Aguinaldo's army, whether by explicit alliance or not, must have been on some basis of recognition of the insurgent leader's authority, and at least with an implied understanding by the Filipinos that the result was to be independence. Otherwise their cooperation could not have been had. Aguinaldo and his followers had no interest in exchanging one foreign authority for another, if they themselves were to have no share in either. Rear-Admiral Bradford, at the Paris peace conference, expressly declared in reply to a question by Senator Frye: "We become responsible for everything he [Aguinaldo] has done, he is our ally, and we are bound to protect him."

**Improvement
in Cuba**

Secretary Root has been visiting Cuba, and reports improvement on every hand, both industrially and educationally. More than 150,000 children are now enrolled in the schools of Cuba, and a proposition is on foot to take a large number of teachers to the United States during the coming summer to attend summer schools and study American institutions. The secretary's observations agree with those of General James H. Wilson, commanding the provinces of Matanzas and Santa Clara, who made a report as far back as last September showing remarkable improvement in municipal conditions. The cities in his provinces were "absolutely clear of epidemic disease, well policed, orderly and free from

violence, rowdyism and licentiousness." He spoke highly of the ability of the local native mayors to manage the municipal governments,—which suggests, in passing, that New York's city officials might well go to Cuba this summer for elementary instruction. Most of the reconcentrados, according to General Wilson, "have returned to the country, and are reconstructing their cottages and growing sufficient vegetable food to prevent suffering from hunger, and to render unnecessary any further issues of rations except as above. . . . A good understanding, with mutual trust and confidence, has been brought about between the American military authorities and the native officials of both the provincial and military governments." This is chiefly because the natives have faith in our ultimate intentions toward them. Why could not the distressing war in the Philippines have been avoided by a similar policy, looking towards independence, there ?

**Nicaragua
Canal
Discussion**

Notwithstanding that the Hay-Pauncefote treaty was pending in the senate, Congressman Hepburn of Iowa presented a long report on February 17th, urging the passage of his bill for a canal across Nicaragua, to be constructed and fortified by the United States government, regardless of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty. Although a government commission is now investigating the route, the Hepburn bill nevertheless proposes to go ahead, whether it costs \$40,000,000 or \$145,000,000. The report makes a number of ingenious guesses as to the probable revenues and cost of maintaining the canal, which only experience can verify or disprove. However good the argument may be for fortifying and exclusively controlling the canal, it can hardly be that congress will adopt off-hand a measure involving such

serious responsibilities and complications, to say nothing of uncertainties of construction, revenues and expenses, as the Hepburn bill.

In the senate an amendment to the canal treaty was offered by Senator Davis on March 9th, providing that nothing contained in the treaty shall restrict the United States from any measure which it may find "necessary to take for securing by its own forces the defence of the United States and the maintenance of public order." This means of course that we reserve the right to fortify the canal. The reservation is similar to that in the Suez canal treaty with reference to the defensive rights of Egypt, but the difference is that the proposed canal will not pass through United States territory as the Suez canal does through Egyptian. Great Britain may not oppose this sort of provision, considering that no war is ever again likely to break out between the United States and England. England has a rightful voice in the situation, under the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, but if the new treaty can provide for American fortification it would perhaps be better that England and America agree jointly to preserve the neutrality of the canal against all others who might try to violate it than to invite the other nations of Europe to join in any agreement on the subject. Practically, the fortifying is not a vital matter, because the real struggle would be fought out by the hostile fleets before either party ever reached the mouth of the canal.

**The Gold
Standard
Enacted**

Whether the silver issue is prominent in the campaign or not, it cannot possibly have the acute importance that it did in 1896. The new gold standard law prevents that. It was signed by the president on March 14th, having passed the house of representatives the day before by a majority of 46. The new law expressly declares the

gold dollar of 25 8-10 grains, 9-10 fine, to be the standard unit of value. It also establishes a division of issue and redemption in the national treasury, to which shall be transferred all gold and silver coin held against outstanding gold and silver certificates and a fund of \$150,000,000 in gold coin and bullion to be used for redemption of the greenbacks. This fund is to be kept up by exchanging redeemed greenbacks for any gold which may be in the general fund department of the treasury at any given time, also by accepting deposits of gold from the public in exchange for greenbacks; and, if the fund is reduced below \$100,000,000, the secretary of the treasury may sell 3% bonds to raise gold sufficient to restore it to \$150,000,000.

The bill also provides for retiring the treasury notes of 1890 by cancelling them as fast as silver dollars may be coined from the bullion now held in the treasury, and in their place silver certificates shall be issued against such silver dollars.

The secretary of the treasury is also authorized to coin silver bullion into small denominations of less than one dollar, to an aggregate not exceeding \$100,000,000. As fast as such coins are struck off, treasury notes of 1890 equal to the cost of the bullion in such coins shall be cancelled.

National banks with \$25,000 capital are authorized in communities of not more than 3,000 inhabitants. Until now they have been required to have at least \$50,000 in places of less than 6,000 population. Banks are also authorized to issue notes up to the full value of the bonds deposited with the government to secure such notes. Another provision of the law will enable banks to get low interest bonds as a basis of circulation for a considerable period of time; namely, the refunding plan. Existing bonds, which will mature in 1904, 1907 and 1908, may be exchanged for new thirty-year

bonds at 2% interest, and already this is being largely done. There is also a reduction in the small tax on national bank-note circulation.

Guaranteeing the gold standard is an achievement which will and ought to stand to the credit of this administration. On the money question at least, it is entitled to the confidence and gratitude of the business and industrial community. The measure does not terminate the so-called endless chain, however. The greenbacks which may be exchanged into the general fund of the treasury can be reissued in payment of government expenses, and so find their way back to the banks and be presented again for redemption in gold. Probably this fault will never be properly remedied until we adopt a scientific banking and currency system whereby the task of redeeming the greenbacks is transferred to the banks themselves, in exchange for note-issuing privileges.

**Surrender of
Cronje's Army**

Ever since Lord Roberts' strategy by which active campaigning was transferred to the Orange Free State, the war in South Africa has been one continuous series of British successes. Promptly after the relief of Kimberley a part of Cronje's forces withdrew to the northwest, while the main body began its disastrous eastward retreat along the valley of the Modder river. Encumbered with heavy wagons and artillery the Boers made slow progress, and were surrounded at Paardeberg Drift on Sunday the 18th of February. Here for several days they made a most heroic stand against a perfect storm of shot and shell raking their camp from end to end. Relief parties were easily beaten off, and on the morning of February 27th General Cronje surrendered his entire force. Considering that only four or five thousand men were found in the camp it is believed that a

part of the army and artillery had previously escaped to the north. General Cronje and his men were taken to Cape Town, and the General at least will be temporarily sent to the island of St. Helena.

**Ladysmith
Relieved**

Meanwhile the Boers had drawn off part of their forces from Natal to help General Cronje. This enabled General Buller at last to force the Tugela without being promptly driven back as usual. By February 26th he had progressed as far as Pieter's station, half way between Colenso and Ladysmith, on the line of the railroad ; and on the evening of February 28th General Dundonald entered the besieged town. General Buller followed on March 1st, the Boers having withdrawn from the entire district around Ladysmith. The relief came none too soon, as General White's supplies of food and ammunition were nearly exhausted ; 8,000 of his 12,000 soldiers had been through the hospital during the siege.

**Useless Peace
Negotiations**

The change in the fortunes of war was so sudden and overwhelming that Presidents Kruger and Steyn held a hurried conference and despatched an appeal for peace to Lord Salisbury. This was sent on the 5th of March, and declared that the war had been undertaken "solely as a defensive measure to maintain the threatened independence of the South African Republic," and on the basis of independence the Boers were desirous of making peace. Nothing was said about redressing any of the grievances that led to the conflict ; the proposition was simply to leave conditions exactly as they were before the war. Lord Salisbury's reply of March 11th recites the history of the case ; reminds Kruger that the Boers began the war and invaded Natal and Cape Colony, inflicting enormous losses, and recalls the fact that:

“In anticipation of these operations the South African Republic had been accumulating for many years past military stores on an enormous scale, which, by their character, could only have been intended for use against Great Britain.” Lord Salisbury declared in conclusion that England is “not prepared to assent to the independence either of the South African Republic or the Orange Free State.” The meaning is perfectly clear. It is that England proposes to annex the Boer republics and govern them probably as states in a South African federation. It seems equally clear on the other hand that the Boers will desperately resist the final campaign against Pretoria.

**Occupation of
Bloemfontein**

Promptly after General Cronje surrendered, the British resumed their march to the east, meeting steady resistance. The new Boer army drawn chiefly from Natal was massed at Osfontein, but on March 7th, without any pitched battle, the British succeeded by a sudden cavalry movement in turning the Boers' left flank, so that their whole position became untenable and they retreated to the north. Another stand was made at Venter's Vlei, about a dozen miles from Bloemfontein, but the British passed completely around this position to the south and entered the Free State capital on the 12th of March. No defence was made, but the civilians welcomed Lord Roberts' army with the utmost enthusiasm. When the Union Jack was hoisted over the residence of President Steyn a great assemblage witnessed the ceremony and sang “God Save the Queen.” The truth is, President Steyn's war policy has not been popular in the Free State, particularly since Boer reverses began. Mr. Fraser, a rival of Steyn and a strong opponent of the war, met Lord Roberts outside the town limits and gave him the keys of the public

buildings. With the taking of Bloemfontein all resistance in the Orange Free State seems to have collapsed. Every day scattered Boer detachments have been coming in and surrendering their arms, while the burghers generally are cooperating in a general reorganization of the government service. It is reported that on March 13th President Kruger annexed the Orange Free State; but, leaving out the obvious fact that the real annexation has already been done by the other fellow, it is quite probable that the people of the Orange Free State prefer a liberal and enlightened administration, even under English supervision, to another installment of Boer governmental methods.

Meanwhile, relief columns are fighting their way toward Mafeking, where Col. Baden-Powell's little garrison is holding out on half rations. When relieved, it is possible the main advance on Pretoria will be made from Mafeking instead of from Bloemfontein.

**The Effect
in England**

General Cronje's surrender occurred on the nineteenth anniversary of Majuba Hill. Naturally this added to the tremendous enthusiasm evoked in England by the news. The Queen's journey from Windsor Castle to Buckingham Palace on March 8th brought out one of the most remarkable demonstrations ever seen in the British capital. It was an expression of the practical unanimity of English sentiment in support of the government, and typified by demonstrations of loyalty to the sovereign. This feeling found more substantial form in the house of commons when, on March 6th, a loan of £35,000,00 for war expenses was authorized by a vote of 161 to 26. This loan has been subscribed ten times over,—a reflection not only of the general confidence in the integrity of the British Empire but of the eagerness of its citizens to lend a hand at this time of need.

PRESENT STATUS OF IMMIGRATION RESTRICTION

PRESOTT F. HALL, SECRETARY IMMIGRATION RESTRICTION
LEAGUE

The war with Spain and the problems resulting therefrom in reference to our new possessions have recently occupied the attention of congress, and indeed of the people generally, to the exclusion of many pressing domestic matters. One of the most important of these matters which have been brushed aside is the question of foreign immigration.

It may be useful to look back of the last war and see what had been previously accomplished along the lines of proper restriction of immigration. The first general act to regulate immigration was passed in 1882; the "contract labor" acts in 1885 and 1887; another general act in 1891; an administrative act in 1893; the head tax raised to one dollar in 1895.

In response to a widespread feeling that the above-named laws were not adequate to accomplish what they were framed for, the Immigration Restriction League was formed in 1894, which has sent out to date about 150,000 pamphlets and documents. The call for these documents came from every part of the United States and even from abroad, and still continues, showing that the public interest in adequate immigration regulation is widespread and deep.

In 1895 a bill to add illiterates to the classes of immigrants excluded from admission to the country was introduced into the house and senate of the 54th congress at the request of the league. It was supported by hundreds of petitions and endorsements of all sorts of bodies from all parts of the United States and by 95 per cent. of the press. In the senate the bill was introduced by Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, of Massachusetts, and the bill came to be generally known as the "Lodge Bill." On May 20, 1896, the bill passed the house by a vote of 195 to 26, and on December 17, 1896, it passed the senate by a vote of 52 to 10. A conference was ordered and the report of the second conference committee passed the house February 9, 1897, by a vote of 217 to 37, and the senate, February 17, 1897, by a vote of 34 to 31. On March 2, 1897, the bill was vetoed by President Cleveland, largely because of an amendment tacked on to the bill by Representative Corliss of Michigan. President McKinley emphasized the need of further legislation in his inaugural message.

The same bill originally proposed was promptly introduced into the 55th congress, and passed the senate January 17, 1898, by a vote of 45 to 28. When it reached the house, the steamship companies and others interested in preventing legislation, by means of circular letters containing the most absurd and misleading statements, succeeded in stirring up a certain factious opposition and in scaring some members of the house so that they resolved not to take up the bill until after the elections. On December 14, 1898, the bill was again refused consideration in the house by the close vote of 103 to 100.

The failure to secure legislation in the last congress was due to several causes, but undoubtedly the two chief factors were the Spanish war and the increase

of industrial activity. The war turned men's minds in other directions while the increased demand for labor dulled the zeal of those organizations which in times of unemployment have their attention fixed upon keeping the standard of living and the rate of wages intact. There is a saying attributed to Thomas B. Reed, when speaker, to the effect that public opinion as reflected in congress is like the tide, which at each flood leaves certain things fixed on the beach, carrying many more back to the sea. The tide of popular feeling in regard to immigration was at its flood in 1896 and 1897. No one who reads the thousands of newspaper clippings appearing at that time can doubt that the grounds for the popular demand were adequate or that the demand was clearly and forcibly expressed. The first vote in the house in favor of the educational test bill, 195 to 26, shows that until political agitation entered into the matter reasonable men were nearly of one mind.

But has the tide really turned or has it been temporarily blown back only to rush in over all barriers? I believe the time is coming before very long when the needed legislation will be obtained, perhaps not in this congress or the next, but in a few years. One reason of this is that while we have been talking about the matter immigration has been changing steadily in character, and in many respects for the worse.

In 1869 immigrants from Austria-Hungary, Italy, Russia and Poland were about 1-80th of the number from the United Kingdom, France, Germany and Scandinavia; in 1880 about 1-8th; in 1894 nearly equal to it; in 1899 about 2 1-2 times greater. In 1869 immigrants from the United Kingdom, France, Germany and Scandinavia, *i. e.*, from our kindred races, constituted three-fourths of the total immigration, to-day only one-fourth. The two largest elements in immigration during the fiscal year 1899 were southern Italian 65,639;

Hebrew 37,415. It may be also noted that predictions of total increase during 1899 have been amply fulfilled, the excess over 1898 being 36 per cent. There has always been a close relation between the volume of immigration and industrial activity in this country, and now that the panic is over and industry is flourishing here an increase may confidently be looked for. But it will not be an increase from western Europe. The very presence here of a large body of immigrants who are willing to live on a low wage and with a lower standard of living of itself tends to send the more ambitious and therefore the more desirable immigrants elsewhere. Commissioner Fitchie in an interview in April 1899 admitted that certain classes of immigrants coming here are "a very bad lot," and no one familiar with the immigration service can deny that the contrast with fifteen or twenty years ago, to go no farther back, is very marked.

The fact that the change in the nationality and character of immigrants dates practically from 1880 is one of the principal difficulties in the way of securing legislation. The older men in congress, and of course most congressmen are in middle life, tend to think of immigration as it was before 1880, when the very desirable German and Scandinavian colonists settled the middle and northwestern states. Very few congressmen visit the recent immigration in its principal residence,—the slum districts of large eastern cities,—nor do they take the trouble to inspect incognito the landing of these immigrants at our ports.

Yet some small things are being accomplished. One of them is an improvement in the method of tabulating statistics of immigration. The new system was put into force July 1, 1898, and the principal feature of it is that each immigrant is tabulated as to nativity by race instead of by the country of his later residence

or political allegiance. The theory of the change is that what is wanted is a knowledge of immigrants as grouped by racial characteristics, especially with reference to the residence and occupation of such groups within the United States. For example, although Russian Jews and German Jews differ from each other they differ still more from the Russians, and for the first time it is possible to know the total Hebrew immigration. Again, while the average illiteracy of Austro-Hungarians last year was 25.2 per cent., the Bohemians show only 3.3 per cent.; and while the average illiteracy of all Italians is over 53 per cent., that of northern Italians (*i. e.*, of those from Tuscany, Emilia, Liguria, Venice, Lombardy, Piedmont, and native Italians resident in other countries) is only 11.4 per cent.

The need of adding an educational test to the other requirements for admission is shown by the illiteracy of the following races from eastern Europe, which sent over 2,000 immigrants each during 1899; Magyar 10.8 per cent.; Croatian and Slovenian 26.1; Slovak 27.6; Polish 31.3; Lithuanian 32.4; southern Italian 57.2; Portuguese 65.5. The average illiteracy of races from western Europe was only 3.6 per cent., while that of immigrants from eastern Europe was 42.4 per cent. The Hebrew illiteracy was 20.3 per cent. All these figures of illiteracy refer only to those immigrants over 14 years of age. I have elsewhere shown* the close and invariable relation existing between illiteracy and general undesirability, and if this be admitted the figures of illiteracy given above show that the present laws are inadequate to exclude all of the undesirable.

A word may be said with reference to the present situation. Senator Lodge has introduced into the present congress the same bill introduced into the 54th

*North American Review Vol. 165, p. 393 (October 1897).

and 55th congresses. I understand it has been reported favorably by the immigration committee of the senate. Whether the present administration, burdened as it is with numerous questions on which the voters are much divided, will care to pass any measure, at all events until after election, is uncertain. Of the imperative need of immediate legislation there is no doubt. Immigration is deteriorating in quality every month and likewise increasing in volume. The time to change the laws is before it reaches another maximum. There is great need now, as there always has been, of some requirement which shall not depend upon the disposition or efficiency of the individual inspector, and which cannot be evaded by false testimony on the part of the immigrant.

Let us therefore try to pass the educational test bill at once, and study its effects. We can then see what further legislation, if any, is needed.

GREATEST LOCKOUT IN HISTORY

JULIUS MORITZEN

It remained for Denmark, during the summer of 1899, to furnish the industrial world with one of its greatest object-lessons of the decade—the most extensive lockout that ever darkened the portals of factories and homes. For once, however, the opposing factions reasoned out their difficulties. And while the lockout lasted through the spring and summer ; while more than 50,000 workers were shut out, and every industry was involved, almost, arbitration stood the victor of the contention. In justice to the action of the employers' union, in shutting out half a hundred thousand men, it should be stated that a strike gave rise to the unpleasantness. Nevertheless, because a handful of carpenters in a small town of Jutland refused to comply with certain rules laid down by their respective employers, this alone is not justification why almost all the manufacturers in the country should band together in order to fight organized labor. The victory of the contest, as far as the workers are concerned, lies in the fact that the board of arbitration decided to refer the entire trouble back to the carpenters' strike. And, as regards the employers, the latter discovered to their own advantage that matters can be arranged more satisfactorily in the future when the representatives of organized capital confer with those who represent organized labor.

Danish industry is, perhaps, composed of more manufactures on a small scale than any other country abroad. Elevated somewhat above the mere shop, the joiners, for instance, work in factories that in reality are but shops. Between such employers and their me-

chanics a certain intimacy has sprung up which even the lockout failed to entirely remove. The trade unions and the employers' union are both offsprings of the old gilds. In Belgium these gilds still hold good, owing to certain old-time regulations which the latter day has failed to dispense with. In Denmark, however, the gild is something of the past, and, in its modern garb, makes self-preservation take the place of the social features which made the old-time institutions famous in their day.

Naturally, as the capital of the country, Copenhagen was the seat of war, if such a term can be justifiably employed in the present instance. At Copenhagen all the industrial interests of Denmark culminate, and here the Danish trade unions have their central organization. It should be said in parenthesis that no country in the world can boast of a better organized body of men than Denmark has at her disposal when it comes to make terms with capital. And it was this which dawned upon the employers when open rupture came. Then, first, did the employers' union assume the proportions it showed during the conflict. Before, the employers had looked upon their organization as a tool never to be made use of. That the employers' union will not be permitted to fade out of existence now is a foregone conclusion. In fact, it was one of the points insisted on by the board of arbitration that henceforth all disagreements must come before the respective organizations of the mechanic or his employer. Great things are expected from this arrangement should arbitration be compelled to step in at some future period.

As in nearly all strikes or lockouts, three questions are to be considered in the present instance : a question of wages, a question of hours, and whether labor organizations are to be recognized or not. In the case of

the Danish lockout, factory regulations were at the bottom of the strike which occurred in Jutland. The carpenters and wood-workers objected to certain terms with which they considered it beneath their dignity to comply. The disruption was fed by the willing assistance lent the strikers by others of their craft. But it is doubtful whether the striking body would have insisted as it did had the members of the union realized how their action was to upset the entire workings of the nation. Bakers, tailors, shoemakers, foundrymen, almost every branch of industry became for the time paralyzed. The grocers and the dealers in general had their incomes reduced to a minimum. And still the lockout kept on spreading and employer upon employer throughout the country joined the employers' union in the hope to crush organized labor for once and all.

Because no disturbances took place at Copenhagen or other cities throughout Denmark during the lockout the impression should not prevail that docility is one of the characteristics of the Danes. On the contrary, the descendants of the Viking race are anything but amiable when their rights are encroached upon. But somehow the idea struck root at once that the experiment of a peaceful misunderstanding between capital and labor might well be worth a trial. The sympathy of the nation was to be appealed to and this very sympathy it was which virtually brought about the satisfactory result of arbitration. Had a blow been struck, it is a question whether matters would have turned so mutually advantageous.

At Copenhagen, then, the great armies of capital and labor had their headquarters, each with its general staff to formulate the plans of campaign. The interest of the country during that season centered more than at any other time on the capital of the nation. As Copenhagen went, so would matters adjust themselves,

said the Danes. The best that capital and labor could place in the field, and never were money and brains more needed than then, came to the assistance of the respective contestants. From King Christian IX. to the humblest laborer in the street, all realized that since the war with the southern neighbor no such crisis has arisen as this internecine quarrel. The good name of the country was at stake. More than this, workingmen throughout the continent watched the operations in the North with almost as much interest as if it was a matter entirely germane with them.

And, while this and the other remedy was suggested to put an end to the misunderstanding, the most sensible proposition was advanced that the time of leisure might be profitably employed by the workers in going to school, so to speak. In other words, night schools were opened where the mechanics could go and learn such things as might especially interest their respective trades. And there were other institutions with similar objects in view where the ordinary rudiments of teachings could be obtained by those whose earlier education had been somewhat neglected on that score. To the credit of the locked-out men let it be stated that these schools were crowded. Coming as the trouble did in the latter part of the spring, and lasting throughout the summer, many university professors whose season of vacation would have called them away remained behind in order to give their service in this noble cause of enlightenment. All felt that here was an opportunity which might never again repeat itself. It is not to be doubted for one moment but what to this interest of the people at large can be ascribed the peaceful condition which prevailed during those memorable months when labor roamed at large and factories and shops were darkened. Then there were mass meetings of the men who had been forced out of employment;

and the employers' union held gatherings daily as well. Now and then committees would meet committees, and, while the employers wished it to be understood that only individuals would be dealt with in the future, they refused to obey their own mandate by listening to the workingmen's representatives. There was an undertone of subservience to conditions which could not be set aside, and much as the employers might have wanted it otherwise public opinion did not allow them to disregard what apparently was for the good of all,—to bring about an amiable understanding. And still the lockout continued.

The Danish workingman is thrifty. The numerous savings banks throughout the country make strong appeals to their appreciation of what are termed "rainy days." Weekly a certain amount finds its way to the bank and when the lockout came the men were much better prepared for the emergency than the employers had anticipated. In fact, had the employers' union known that such large sums of money were at the disposal of the men they were endeavoring to subject it is a question whether they would have dared to engage in the combat. When the lockout came, the workers who had money in bank kept drawing on their own resources and it was several months before fellow-workers, who had not been affected, were appealed to. When that appeal at last was made necessary, assistance was rendered willingly. Not only the country itself, but Norway and Sweden and Germany, even, sent money to help out the men who were not strikers. The very unique positions of these thousands, who asked for nothing better than to work as they had done, appealed to the sentiment and found expression in material aid. German workingmen contributed not a little to the campaign fund.

It will always be charged up against the employers

that they prevented the mechanics they had locked out from seeking work abroad. The edict went forth to Norway and Sweden for the employers there not to give work to men who would ask for it. By this means the Danish employers expected to bring the mechanics to repudiate their labor organizations, and come into the shop or factory as individuals. The same instructions were sent to Germany, and the appeals to the German employers were almost humorous; especially when it is considered that usually not much love is lost between the Danish people and the subjects of the emperor. The manufacturers of Denmark to a very large extent belong to the Rightist party, which stands for royalty and patriotic adherence to the throne. The workingmen are Leftists largely and are the liberals of the country. The royalists, therefore, made appeals in their own interests to people whom they hated from a political point of view. And they asked the Germans to help them fight a body which in reality is much better disposed toward the people of the Fatherland than the royalists who still cling to the belief that Schleswig-Holstein may yet be restored. But it appears that neither patriotism nor justice were made to interfere with what to the capitalists in the present instance was more important than both. And the request of the Danish employer was complied with and the mechanics who sought work away from home did so in vain.

It is not to be wondered at that the socialistic element of Germany and Belgium felt the situation one to concern them as well. Money in large sums went to Denmark. From Belgium, also, came some of the foremost leaders among the workingmen and their advice did much good in several instances, although some radical measures advanced did not suit the present purpose of the Danes. No force was to be shown; on that point all the Danish labor organizations were a unit.

The Danish newspapers took an active part in the campaign aside from the news features of the imbroglio. The papers which stand for the monarchical ideas took sides with the employers to a large extent. Those of the opposite political belief gave the locked-out men the full benefit of their best pens and counsels. A number of the papers almost forgot the real issue at stake and entered into acrimonious attacks. All, however, were as one that the country could not long endure a condition so disastrous to its best interests. But, how to bring order out of chaos, opinions differed. That each contestant had to give up something toward that end there could be no question.

The clergy of Denmark put in its voice when the real crisis arrived. Denmark is a protestant country and the ministers of the gospel are factors of vast importance where the welfare of the people is at stake. That the religious sentiment of the nation would suffer by a prolonged battle between capital and labor was all too apparent. It was also evident to the ministers that no one body had a greater right to be heard than they. When master and man found their grievance turn into open rupture, instead of making the clergy their confidants the clergymen took upon themselves to offer their good offices of peace. But even the ministers did not feel justified to charge the one or other party with being the cause of the industrial upheaval. Rather, the appeal which the clergy sent to the country was based upon what might happen providing an adjustment were not soon brought about.

During labor conflicts of whatever kind the women and children are usually the innocent victims of the disputes which arise between the breadgivers and the breadwinners. Perhaps the Danish lockout, however, brought forward a phase of sympathy such as the world has not seen before. The dictate of the heart became

a great factor as far as the sympathy of woman for woman was concerned. The employers' union, as a matter of course, relied upon the opportunity for starving the workmen into submission. If work was withdrawn from them, naturally enough, want would assert itself as soon as the purse had become empty. Women and children depended on these workers for their daily bread. And it was now that woman met woman without sign of distinction.

A number of wives of the employers secretly assisted the needy of their sex. The schemes of their lords and masters they passed by for the higher duty of being humanitarian. Perhaps they might be termed traitors to their husbands, by some who did not sympathize with this method of assistance. Whatever the opinion, it showed a noble consciousness that after all the world contains fraternal feeling as far as woman is concerned.

The agricultural element of Denmark sympathized with the workingmen and their families. Almost as with one voice the various meetings held in villages, and places like such, showed which way the farmers wanted the contest to be decided. When summer arrived and no settlement was visible, the farmers of the entire land threw open their homes to the children of the locked-out men. It has been a practice for years in Denmark to send the children of the poorer classes to the country during the summer months. The farmers are exceedingly hospitable. Everything possible is done by them to make the city children enjoy their stay where nature smiles its best. But when the great lockout struck the people as a blast which seemed to sweep everything before it, the Danish farmers felt that now was the opportunity to show that the stability of the nation rests on a foundation of agricultural strength. Almost with one voice the farmers sent out

the word that the locked-out men could send their children to them. Commissioners were sent through the country to make the necessary arrangements. Each farm was designated as capable of holding a certain number of children. At Copenhagen the work of allotment was performed. Thousands of children were removed from the unsatisfactory influence of seeing fathers idle and mothers grievous because the weekly wages were no longer theirs. In the case of hundreds of infants the mothers as well went with their little ones to the country. It had all the aspect of a beleaguered city where the men are ready to defend their homes while sending children and women to the rear. Not enough credit can be given the leaders for the admirable way in which they showed the men how to face the situation courageously. Even the employers expressed their admiration for the steadfastness which the locked-out men displayed.

When at last things had arrived at such a state that arbitration appealed to both parties some time elapsed before the right men were chosen for that purpose. The employers' union and the trade unions each selected one representative, these in turn chose a third. What took place in the various meetings, how this and that point was discussed, does not concern the present article. Enough that the employers recognized the advisability of conferring with labor's representatives in the future. And the strike in Jutland was disposed of in its turn. The great lockout was at an end. Slowly the country went back to a position in the industrial world which, before the trouble, was an enviable one. That it will be some time before equilibrium will be entirely restored is a certainty.

To republicans it may not seem a matter of importance that King Christian IX. decorated the three arbitrators with an order which goes to but few.

Nevertheless, Messrs. Bing, Heide and Trier, the three judges in the present instance, deserved every recognition possible for the masterful manner in which they brought the matter to a close. When a country with a population of about two and one-half million inhabitants finds 50,000 men thrown out of work the situation can well be considered serious. When three individuals manage to bring together the severed ends their country owes them more than if they were that many generals in the field battling for their nation. The industry of a country is its fullest expression of prosperity or otherwise.

But, it will be asked, naturally, who was the conqueror in this struggle for supremacy? If either the one or other side scored a decided victory, the triumph unquestionably belongs to the trade unions. The employers' union, to begin with, after the insignificant strike had begun, became the aggressor, and was relentless in its exactions. It is quite apparent that the dispute did in reality not revolve around the question of wages and hours but whether the workingmen's union might exercise any power in the workshops.

The workingmen themselves maintained that the employers had in purpose the disruption of trade unionism throughout Denmark. The employers maintained, on the other hand, that they had the sole right to formulate their own rules for carrying on work without any interference from the labor organizations. And when it became apparent that public demand necessitated some kind of agreement between the opposing forces the much-discussed "eight points" were laid down by the employers' union. These points were :

(1.) The responsibility of the central union of workmen for the enforcement among the local unions of agreements between the central organizations of employers and workmen. (2.) The recognition of

the employers' right to organize the workmen in their factories according to their own judgment. (3.) That foremen and heads of gangs must not be members of the workmen's unions. (4.) That the date of notices as to agreements respecting the scale of wages and other matters shall be fixed for January 1st in each year, with three months' notice to be given in advance. (5.) That there shall be a settlement of all existing points of dispute in the joinery trade. (6.) That neither employer nor employed shall boycott any one for the part taken in the dispute. (7.) That there shall be a resumption of work by the workmen in the same localities where they were formerly employed. (8.) That all workmen's unions shall take part in the final negotiations, whether affiliated to the central union or not.

Even though there remained a considerable difference between what the employers asked and the employed were willing to take, there was evident at once a desire to arrive at some conclusion. It is not too much to say that in the United States the employer, if once set sternly against giving in, would never even have recognized the trade unions as a negotiable quantity.

The board of arbitration which had been finally agreed upon offered its service, which offer was accepted by the workmen's central union. Still the employers' union insisted on the "eight points." The struggle continued until September. When the settlement at last came it was plainly a compromise. The employers had to give up any idea of destroying the workmen's organizations. They were also obliged to modify most of their demands in the "eight-point" issue. On the other hand, the workmen had to recognize several of these "points." Where the employers say that no foreman shall be a member of a workmen's union they are met with the provision agreed to that the foreman

shall bear liberty to join or refrain from so doing. Also, instead of January 1st being the date of notice as to agreements concerning scales of wages, it was fixed at least three months forward, the workmen contending that in the depth of winter they would be entirely unprepared for a lockout. It was also provided that no boycott should take place on either side following the signing of the agreement. The main point settled was that agreements which shall have been arrived at shall be respected and obeyed by all organizations under them.

If either of the central organizations feels that this rule has been broken it can place the appeal before the court of appeals at Copenhagen, until such time when there shall be established by law a permanent arbitration court, invested with the same authority as the other courts of the country. As soon as this arbitration court has been established it will take the place of the court of appeals.

It would be well for American workingmen as well as the American employers to study carefully this most unique lockout of the century. Recognition by the employers that labor unions are necessary is apparent at a glance. There is no doubt that had they so willed it the employers could, by continued cessation of work, have brought the others to submit, although at a fearful cost. The lesson, however, is well bought. Already Danish industries are recovering from their forced suspension. With renewed vigor, mechanics and laborers are once more at their tasks, a better feeling prevailing between the employed and the employers since both have discovered the inherent strength of the other, and as fair a land as ever sun shone down upon is reechoing with the hum of industrial activity.

THE TARIFF AND PROSPERITY

GEORGE L. BOLEN

When Mr. Scanlan, at the Chicago trust conference, said he must be a bold man who would now question the benefits conferred by a protective tariff, he doubtless meant to assert that the recent hard times were caused by Mr. Cleveland's tariff reform, and that the present prosperity was caused by the return to Mr. McKinley's policy of high protection. During the depression the practice among representative republicans of attributing it to the so-called free trade was nearly universal, and the democratic reverses of 1894 showed that the voters in general believed tariff tinkering was the source of trouble. Since the return to better times there has been little political campaigning, and the issues arising from the Spanish war have claimed foremost attention; but in the presidential campaign of this year there will undoubtedly be the usual large distribution of protection pamphlets, and in these and the speeches it will be claimed as a fact now conclusively proved that prosperity always follows reassertion of protection, and depression every attempt to modify or set aside the principle. If this favorite assumption is now so unquestionably settled, it ought to be easy to point out why it is true.

How much of this prosperity was caused by the Dingley law, or to what extent has business been affected by the tariff? What list of causes can be given? The following outline is of six or seven causes that seem simple enough for general admission:

(1.) Four and a half years of debt-paying, from the bank failures of June, 1893, to the revival of trade in the fall of 1897 (following six years of high living

and bold building), accompanied by restricted consumption and restricted production—resulted in a depletion of stocks of goods to correspond with prevailing light demand and little power to buy. After four years of such living, with scanty support, low wages and low profits, many debtors were out of debt and ready to buy and consume more freely, and with all those living closely personal outfits of clothing and household commodities were reduced by wear and ready for replenishing. For these reasons there was by 1898 a large increase of buying for consumption, which by quickening demand soon started idle factories and gave idle workmen wages to spend that added further to the buying and the demand. Stocks of commodities had been allowed to run so low that a positive scarcity tended to raise prices.

(2.) Population increase required not only more goods for current consumption, but also more permanent construction, more houses to live in, more factory capacity to supply clothing and other articles, more railroad equipment to carry the needed increase of food supplies, raw materials and manufactured articles. As the population of the United States increased twelve million between 1880 and 1890, and is expected to increase fourteen millions between the latter year and the census taking next June, it doubtless increased six million in the five years from Cleveland's election to the fall of 1897. These extra six millions exceeded the population of Canada, a country of considerable trade importance, with exports and imports aggregating together about fifty millions a year. At the accepted estimate in 1880 of a total American product of ten billions, \$200 for each of the fifty million population, these five or six million additional people provided at the end of 1897 a home market each year for one billion more of goods than were required in 1892. Dur-

ing these five years there was very little increase of permanent construction (factory, house and railroad)—nothing commensurate with the increase of population.

(3). The large crops of 1897-98 in America were accompanied by an exceptional shortage abroad, which raised the average price of wheat in New York from 70c. a bushel in 1895 and 78c. in 1896, to 95c. in 1897 and 1898. This increase of price, with the 100,000,000 bushels excess of the 1897 crop over that of 1896, raised the farm value of the 1897 crop \$118,000,000. There was also an increase of \$127,000,000 in the farm value of the 1896 wheat crop over that of 1895. In the farm value of the corn crop there was a fall of \$43,000,000 in the first interval, but a rise of \$10,000,000 in 1897. Since the summer of 1896 American farmers have received, from their favoring fortune of good seasons here and bad seasons abroad, an excess of several hundred millions, to remove mortgage burdens and to spend in building improvements and machinery supplies. This strong foreign demand for grain and rise in price came before and promoted the business revival. To a large extent the extra millions came with as little human agency as if they had dropped from the sky. Such a sum distributed among needy farmers will give a tremendous impulse to general business.

(4.) Industrial expansion and general prosperity in foreign countries gave rise by 1898 to unprecedented foreign demand for American manufactured products. This foreign expansion also came before, or independent from, the American prosperity, and now exists almost wholly apart from it. As America buys less in amount from foreign countries than formerly, her purchases from them contribute less to their trade. The Midland Railway of England, which has 170 locomotives building at home, has ordered forty in America for the sake of quick delivery, its business being too

pressing to admit of any avoidable delay. When these 210 have all been delivered, this road will have 2780 locomotives. Quick delivery, coupled with good work and reasonable prices, has also brought to America lately other important foreign orders for locomotives, steel rails and iron bridges and pipe, and machinery of various kinds. America is profiting substantially from British development in Egypt, South Africa, Australia and Burmah, and from Russian development in Siberia and North China. Foreign prosperity also affects the continued demand for American food products, giving means for liberal consumption abroad.

(5.) The Spanish war gave in the spring of 1898 a decided impetus to the steady and certain industrial growth that had already started. The original \$50,000,000 appropriation and the \$250,000,000 loan were spent largely for ships, munitions and supplies that would not have been bought if there had been no war. Quite likely also several of the American battle-ships now being built would not have been ordered; and the order for foreign warships doubtless came to America as a result of the navy's brilliant exploits in the war. The chartering of ships and purchase of war supplies continues for the Philippines, and the addition of fifty or sixty thousand men to the old regular army removes that number of strong men from work at home, thus making places for an equal number of the unemployed, and contributing to the rise in wages. America's purchase and chartering of ships has also added to prosperity abroad.

(6.) The settling of the silver question was a necessary condition for the return of prosperity. However sincere were the beliefs of some of the advocates of free coinage, the agitation unquestionably caused capitalists to delay enlargement for old or construction for new enterprises, and added in 1896 to

other reasons for operating factories few hours per day, with reduced forces at low wages. Yet in the permanent settlement of the silver agitation the presidential election of 1896 was probably the least of three factors. It restored confidence in the currency among the gold advocates (the capitalists and manufacturers); but the silver voters (unprosperous farmers and poorly employed workingmen) continued to be silver men (despite some improvement in crop prices) and ready for agitation through nearly a year after the election, until the very large crops of 1897, with the foreign shortage and higher prices, placed the farmers on their feet again and led quickly to the employment of many idle workmen. The other factor in the apparently permanent settlement of the silver question is the marked increase in the annual production of gold. The world's total product of gold was \$199,000,000 in 1895, \$202,000,000 in 1896, \$238,000,000 in 1897, and \$287,000,000 in 1898. The product of South Africa alone, over \$80,000,000 in 1898, was expected to reach \$100,000,000 last year if mining was not seriously interrupted by war in the Transvaal. Not only does this increase of gold dispose of the American silver agitation, but here, and in other countries where there was no silver question, it encourages business enterprise by its promise of a possible higher average of prices, from an abundance of the universal measure of value.

(7.) The earlier movement toward a return to normal buying and normal consumption, without regard to the cause of the movement (whether it came from a studied survey of conditions or from a chance desire to buy some goods), tended naturally toward a complete reestablishment of normal conditions of trade. By 1897 after four years of depression during which the earth yielded its products as before and people had their usual wants, the restoration of commer-

cial confidence by the removal of the silver scare would have led gradually to fair prosperity if there had been no other specially favorable causes. At such a time people able to buy begin to feel that they have stinted long enough, and purchases by a comparatively few are followed by orders for new goods to keep up the small stocks on hand; soon manufacturers begin to realize that the market will justify a cautious resumption of work, and with employment comes more buying by workingmen—more consumption and more demand. As with the individual, success brings success, so in society buying brings more buying—makes trade.

(8.) With all the above causes of present prosperity, there is little effect left to attribute to the Dingley tariff law. How far its increase of duties affected business it is easy to estimate. Practically nothing was added to the Wilson law's 25 to 40 per cent. duties in favor of the iron and steel industry, which is now fast coming into control of the markets of the world. The \$2 per 1,000 feet on lumber (free under the Wilson law) has probably given employment to few or no additional Americans, nor increased their wages, in the present world-wide demand for building materials. The 11c. a pound placed upon free wool raises the price and adds considerably to the income of the wool growers; but it is unlikely that as many as 20,000 people in America are supported exclusively by sheep raising, or that as many as one million are partially supported by it to an extent sufficient to affect their general consumption. The total value of about \$50,000,000 for the wool product of 1898, against the total of about two and a half billions for all farm products, would indicate that an infinitesimal proportion of present buying for consumption is done with proceeds of wool. The three-tenths of a cent per pound added to the Wilson duty of one cent and a fifth

in favor of the American tin plate industry, which was established by the McKinley tariff of 1890, was recently said to be necessary for its present prosperity; though this industry grew rapidly under the Wilson law during the hard times, and the Welsh would seem now to have their capacity utilized with the large demand for tin outside of the United States. But 100,000 would probably be a high estimate for those people in America who live from the tin-plate industry. The 15 per cent. imposed upon free hides has added materially to the income of very few who did not have all the purchasing power they could use. The 3-8 cent per pound on soda ash is said to have given support to several thousand people in new works in eastern Michigan.

There seems to be no other item worth mentioning in whose manufacture the Dingley tariff has added to the employment and purchasing power of the American people. We need not consider here whether its duties on raw materials have hampered any industry and thus unfavorably affected wages, or whether its protective additions to prices of some things have curtailed purchasing power for other things. But it appears doubtful if the Dingley bill's increase of duties has noticeably benefited, directly or indirectly, more than one-fiftieth or one-sixtieth of the population. If the manufacturers of other nations were less busy than they are, there might be more need in America for the tariff barrier. However, it seems a strange view of America's acknowledged preeminence in business capacity and industrial skill, with her world-surpassing home market and unapproachable variety and extent of resources, to doubt the success of her people in any proper industry, with high, low or no protection, in the unprecedented demand that now prevails over every continent.

The chief benefit of the new tariff comes from the

settlement of the controversy. When industries are no more handicapped or endangered than they were in 1897 by the Wilson law, when as then producing and consuming power have sustained no shock from famine, flood or pestilence, the only thing necessary to restore normal trade conditions is to get among the people the feeling that everything is all right. It was the need of revenue that seemed to require an increase of the tariff rates. Not many who understood the situation will doubt that if the Wilson law had been changed only in name, and reenacted as a new law without actual increase of rates, the nation's business as a whole would have been affected just as favorably as it was. If there had been no tariff change at all, it is hard to imagine the matter-of-fact American mind could have failed to realize the return of good times when it knew of the long trains laden with grain for export at high prices, of the feverish rush to supply the government with commodities for the war, and of the widespread return to large consumption in every line. And, viewing every feature of the question strictly on its merits, it is not too much to believe that the grand spectacle of prosperity would have been little delayed if Cleveland instead of McKinley could have been its advance agent, on their common currency platform.

Of course this whole discussion is useless for discerning minds that have considered the question. It is regrettable that party policies should require able and otherwise honest men to publicly teach what they know to be misleading—what they would never stultify themselves by defending in a small company of trained minds informed upon the subject. But, unfortunately, there are few who have any other than the prescribed partisan understanding of these things. At a large local political gathering the best men in the community drink in with eager satisfaction wholly untenable argu-

ments. During the hard times it was usually a waste of effort to contest the prevailing opinion that all the trouble arose from the election of Cleveland and tariff reform. It is so much easier to believe unthinkingly in some charm-like connection between the tariff and business than to seek out causal facts, such as that the boom in railroad building and large construction was subsiding before 1892; that the farm value of the wheat and corn crops fell off over half a billion in the two years from 1891 to 1893; and that the hard times began in a silver panic in the summer of 1893, with little thought of the approaching tariff reform. In the same way, leading local business men now talk sometimes as if the Dingley tariff were the sole or chief cause of present prosperity. How different, how fair and truthful in every way, is the view of Hon. Thomas L. James, in his comprehensive article last fall—a master of business who evidently has a higher opinion of his party than to believe it will be helped by excessive claims as to the benefits of protection. But happily, new issues are relieving both the great parties from the fallacious or exaggerated policies to which they have clung. It is unimportant whether the average voter ever knows the truth about them after they have been dropped to a minor place among platform principles.

BY THE EDITOR—

This article is an excellent illustration of what can be done by way of showing that a given result is not the effect of any given cause. Mr. Bolen has evidently been somewhat disturbed by the claim that the return to a protective policy was the dominant cause of the present prosperity, and in order to rebut this contention he has endeavored to show that it is the result of a combination of nearly all the causes that ever operate upon

industrial phenomena. There is a sense in which Mr. Bolen is right. There are probably many hundreds, nay many thousands, of influences which have directly and indirectly contributed to the present state of industrial prosperity. But that does not militate against the fact that some great leading cause exercised an initiatory and perhaps a dominating influence, without which the others would not have perceptibly operated, and jointly were very insufficient. One might as well deny that any phenomenon is the product of any specific cause on the ground that everything is subject to the joint action of all the forces of the universe.

Under the first head, Mr. Bolen calls attention to the fact that during the four years from 1893 to 1897 consumption was restricted and stocks were depleted, and says: "For these reasons there was by 1898 a large increase of buying for consumption, which by quickening demand soon started idle factories and gave idle workmen wages to spend that added further to the buying and the demand."

But what started the buying? The low profits and the low wages? How could the diminution of merchants' stocks stimulate buying? It is usually the redundancy of such stocks that stimulates the efforts to sell by tempting buyers with lower, sometimes losing, prices. But why did all this wait until after the return of the protective policy? Wages were low enough in 1894 and 1895; stocks were poor enough and bankruptcies were numerous enough, but buying did not begin.

Under the second head he gives increase of population as the cause. The increase of population called for more houses and more clothes and more food. He estimates that from Mr. Cleveland's election to the fall of 1897 there was an increase of six millions in the population, which is more than the entire population of Canada, and, on the estimate that each individual con-

sumes two hundred dollars' worth of products a year, this increasing population furnished a home market for a billion dollars' worth of goods. Well, why did not this effect of the increased population upon the home market show itself until after the Cleveland *régime* was terminated? This population did not all come in 1897. They were being born every day and every year. If this were a leading cause it ought to have shown itself in 1893, and increasingly in 1894, and so on each year right along. But there were no symptoms of this effect until after the election of 1896. Moreover, if this increased population was a great force in the situation, why did the slump of depression come in the closing months of 1892 and early months of 1893? There was no sudden diminution of the population. The fact was that millions of them some of the time went without food. They had to be fed by soup kitchens in all the large cities throughout the country, and in the rural districts laborers became herds of tramps. This cause is wholly inadequate, as it was in operation all the time, while the effects came suddenly at a specific date to which this cause had no relation.

Under the third head he cites the increased crops of 1896 and 1897, when the crops in all this country were large and there was a failure of crops in other countries, and hence our farmers got the advantage of the higher prices without any increase in their cost of production. There is no doubt but this was a tributary cause to the return of prosperity, because (1) it gave the farmers of this country several millions extra, which they spent in paying off their mortgages, in buying implements, perhaps in erecting new farm buildings or repairing old ones; and (2) it came almost simultaneously with the new industrial policy and helped to stimulate the result. But had this come in 1892 it would not have been adequate to convert the depression

into prosperity, mainly because it only influenced to the specific amount of its increased purchasing power. Alone it would have done little to stimulate the business confidence of the community, which was the real influence at bottom of both the depression in 1892 and the present revival.

Under the fourth head Mr. Bolen cites the industrial expansion in foreign countries, which "gave rise by 1898 to unprecedented foreign demand for American manufactured products." The statistical returns show nothing special in this respect. From 1893 to 1899 inclusive the exports of domestic manufactures gradually increased each year (except 1895) being \$158,023,118, in 1893, \$183,728,808 in 1894, \$183,595,743 in 1895, \$228,571,178 in 1896, \$277,285,391 in 1897, \$290,697,354 in 1898 and \$338,675,558 in 1899. If this foreign expansion, therefore, contributed materially to the return of prosperity, it ought to have been as perceptible in 1894 as it was in 1898, since the increase of 1894 over 1893 was \$25,705,690, whereas the increase of 1898 over 1897 was only \$13,411,963.

But, as already remarked, it is undoubtedly true that the larger crop of 1897 was a real contribution, as was also the increased expenditure by the government involved in the war with Spain, as was also the settling of the silver question by the certainty that a free-silver bill could not pass the president. These three items coming simultaneously with the change of administration, which brought the new policy, no doubt helped to swell the proportions which the industrial prosperity reached.

In his last section, Mr. Bolen reveals most clearly the defect of his method of treating the subject. He says: "With all the above causes of present prosperity, there is little effect left to attribute to the Dingley tariff law." He then proceeds to take a number of

items, like wool and lumber and tin, and estimate how much increased employment and wages the protection on each of these particular items gave, and how much that employment contributed to the general prosperity. This overlooks the most important effect of an economic policy—its effect on the business confidence of the country. It is not in these details that either the Wilson bill injured or the Dingley bill helped general prosperity. The great effect the two policies exercised on the two periods of depression and prosperity was not the actual result of the schedules, but the influence on the business psychology of the nation. When Mr. Cleveland was elected in 1892, his very political presence paralyzed industry; not because anything had been really changed but from the fear of the change he and his party would inaugurate. It will be remembered that, within a week after the election returns were in, business reverses began, contracts for supplies and machinery and new factories were cancelled by the score and hundred. Before he was inaugurated the country was in a high state of industrial fever. Banks were calling in their loans, contracting their accommodation to every business who was supposed to be affected, directly or indirectly, by the tariff. And in less than two months after he was inaugurated we were entering the fiercest panic, with the greatest number of bank and business failures, that has ever been recorded in a single six months of our history.

On the theory of analyzing tariff schedules it could be said that this was not due to Mr. Cleveland's election at all, because he had not done a single thing except call a special session of congress to repeal the Sherman silver law. It was not what he had done but what everybody believed he was going to do that created the damage, and that is the way very largely that business panics are brought on. When the Wilson bill was really

adopted the worst phases of the panic were over. The worst was then known, and if that could have been known the morning after Mr. Cleveland's election the disturbance would probably not have been one-tenth so great. But the disturbance which had been caused, and the lack of faith in the policy of the administration, whose presence had caused it, left the nation in a state of industrial stupor, and it so remained during the entire period of that administration, notwithstanding that the population had increased and that our exports were increasing. The fact is, the paralysis was on our domestic industry. Wages fell, enforced idleness multiplied, pauperism increased apace, and instead of the people having money to spend they had to be fed at soup kitchens.

The election of 1896 had just the reverse effect on the business psychology of the country. There were two great issues involved in that election. One was the return to a protective policy, and the other the security against a fifty-cent dollar. Immediately after the election returns were in the revival began, in exactly the same way as in 1892 the depression began. It was not that Mr. McKinley was so wonderfully much wiser than Mr. Cleveland. He had done nothing. But he represented a policy which would afford protection to the American market, to American enterprise. On the basis of that theory, business men had confidence everywhere that now they could safely risk industrial investments; that at least the policy of the administration would be in favor of and not against domestic industries. This, together with the certainty that a free-silver law could not pass, went through the financial and business veins of the nation like a stimulating electric current.

It is true, as recited by Mr. Bolen, that everybody had bought as little of clothes, furniture and other sup-

plies as they could get along with, while manufacturers curtailed production and stocks were depleted until the market was left thoroughly bare ; but, during the four years of doubtful policy, the bareness of the market did not stimulate the opening of a single factory. When the safe ground for confidence came, with the financial and protective policy of the new administration, capital felt safe in at once reaching out in anticipation of a revival of demand. Credit was at once extended to solvent concerns, so that they could safely contract for orders months ahead, which started the factories. The starting of the factories increased employment, and that let loose a larger amount of purchasing funds. Railroads, in anticipation of a return of prosperity, began repairs and large extensions, even making heavy loans for the purpose, in anticipation of increasing business. Thus, with the letting loose of capital, through the enlargement of credit, which was born of the renewed confidence, the whole industrial world began to bubble with activity. Everybody wanted to stock up who could get credit or had the means to purchase the stock, because they felt perfectly sure of their future sales, which they had not done prior to November, 1896. Even though all that Mr. Bolen says about the Dingley law regarding particular industries were true, the fact remains that the presence of the protective policy and the certainty that it would favor domestic industries gave confidence and life to business activity. The production of iron through the construction of railroads, of machinery and new factories, took on proportions never before anticipated.

Of course it is true that the whole of this is not due to the tariff, but what is true is that the confidence created by the protective and sound-money policy of the new administration revitalized the nation in every department. When business confidence thus let loose

all the available economic forces of the country a momentum was created by which the tributary causes to which Mr. Bolen refers could contribute their mite to the general prosperity. But the important fact to note is that the seven causes he enumerates all combined with a state of disturbed business confidence would not, could not and did not create a ripple. They were only effective when the great dominating cause, business confidence and certainty of future security, operated. In that sense, therefore, it may properly be said that the present business prosperity is chiefly due to the tariff policy; not that the schedules have produced it, but the effect of the general policy upon the business confidence and energy of the people. Without it, prosperity might ultimately have come, but it would have been slow and meagre and probably have involved a general lowering of our economic status, in the process. If we should have absolute free trade to-morrow, this nation would survive, but our industries and labor conditions would have to be readjusted to the new competitive basis, which probably would be a permanent lowering of the wage and profit level of the whole country, and from five to ten years' depression, bankruptcy and ruin in the readjusting process.

If that change is ever to come without havoc and disaster it must be introduced gradually by imperceptible gradations.

EDITORIAL CRUCIBLE

IT IS ASSUMED by most people that the Hay-Pauncefote treaty in favor of the neutralization of the Nicaragua Canal is a humiliating surrender to England. But this seems not to be the view taken by the English press. The *Spectator*, *St. James Gazette*, *Saturday Review*, *Times*, and other journals of English opinion, even favor American control and fortification. They take the view that in American hands the neutrality is safer, so far as they are concerned, than it would be in the hands of the powers. They feel perfectly sure that we would never close the canal to English commerce. The spirit of the people, the interests of the nations, their attitude toward civilization, are so alike that no administration in either England or the United States could ever get up a case over which the people would permit a war.

THERE IS a good deal of truth in the idea that unlimited discussion is the best way to kill vagaries and empty panaceas. Senseless sentiment, groundless statements and misrepresentation of facts will not bear constant repetition, and the nearer we approach to practical action the more critical the people become. During the last year or eighteen months, when the reorganization of corporations into larger concerns was at its height, there was an almost frenzied public sentiment against these so-called "trusts." A year's fierce discussion, covering several national conferences, has taken much of the hysterics out of the controversy. As an evidence that economic sanity on this subject has begun to find its way into political circles, a comparatively rational measure has been introduced into the

New York senate for the regulation of trusts. It puts corporations effectively within the regulative power of the state without abridging their freedom for legitimate business enterprises. If this measure is passed, as it probably will be, it may set the pace for wholesome so-called trust legislation, which will be a good thing for industry throughout the country.

IT IS QUITE manifest that among a certain class of politicians and journalists a determined effort is being made to force the tariff into prominence as an issue in the coming presidential campaign. The effect of this will, of course, be to disturb business confidence and to that extent it will be a national calamity.

Republicans will very properly denounce this as a means of bringing on industrial depression. Yet as a matter of fact the administration is really responsible for whatever evil may come out of this agitation. A straight consistent policy by the republican party on the lines of its own history would have kept the protective principle un-attacked and made any serious discussion of free trade at this time practically impossible. But the president's official declaration in favor of free trade with Puerto Rico, then the party's backing off into a tariff policy, has given the free traders exactly the morsel they wanted. The fact that it would cause an industrial depression never seems to be regarded as of sufficient significance to prevent the free-trade agitation on the slightest possible excuse. National prosperity is no bar to the professional free-trade agitator. Indeed, it seems rather to whet his appetite for a new attack upon protection.

THE NEW YORK *Sun* criticizes Mr. Smalley for indicating in his correspondence with the *London Times* that public sentiment in the United States is with England's

position in South Africa. The *Sun* announces that the American people are with the Boers. It may not be disputed that the *Sun* has a special short-cut to knowledge on this subject, but it would be interesting to know how it found out that the American people sided with the Boers. Has it taken any census on the subject? Has there been any expression of public opinion in any of the large cities or country districts? On what class of data does the *Sun* base its conclusion? It cannot be on the tone of the press, for that would justify no such conclusion. If the *Sun* would say it is in favor of the Boers it might be on safe ground, and it would not be of so very much consequence. But when it pretends to speak for the American people, without a scintilla of inside evidence any more than any other citizen has, it should be treated as only indulging in colossal guessing.

The only evidence of public opinion on the subject thus far is a few meetings, largely Irish, and they were entirely unnecessary, since everybody knows that Irishmen are opposed to anything that England does. The judgment of the American people on the Boer situation is in the making. It will not be rendered until the fight is over, and then it is no risk to prophesy that it will be in favor of human rights, free government, and equality for all white men in Africa. To assume that the opinion of the American people would finally be given in favor of a narrow oligarchy which does not even admit equality of religious opinion, to say nothing of personal property and political rights, is to insult their spirit of fairness and the sincerity of their faith in democratic institutions.

IN ITS exposure of the "gambling hells" of New York city, the New York *Times* has done what the Mazet committee failed to accomplish. The *Times* en-

joys the advantage of being entirely free from yellowness. It is one of the cleanest and most serious dailies published in New York. It has not only located a number of these illegal "gambling dens," but it has, with a precision heretofore unequalled, located the organization and method by which the system is carried on. It has located the existence of an official commission of gamblers who license the whole business, using the police force merely as their agent to collect a well-regulated fee for protection, according to the profitableness of the "den." By this means it obtains for distribution among its own members and the Tammany machine in the vicinity of three million dollars a year. The exposé is very complete, and makes the Mazet committee look wonderfully like a sham. The effect has been to set the grand jury at work and make the district attorney's office assume a virtue it never possessed and act as if it were interested in suppressing crime, of which it has not hitherto been suspected.

All in all, the revelation the *Times* has made shows that experience has practically no lessons for Tammany; that it is a political organization which lives, moves and has its being in vice. It grows bolder in its methods on the assumption that the rewards it can distribute will secure its popularity and retention in office, which is justified by its fifty to ninety thousand majority at any election, regardless of candidates or issues. The people thus endorse Tammany over and over again, with the full knowledge of its methods, character and purposes, and hence they alone are responsible for the disgrace it bring upon the city.

IN AN EDITORIAL on "Bryan's Chances" the *Washington Post* reviews the policy of the administration on the Philippines, Puerto Rico and the Nicaragua canal, and concludes thus :

"We assert, without fear of contradiction, that the administration is daily losing strength on all these scores, and we know, for a certainty, that thousands of men who, four years ago, regarded Mr. Bryan with terror and aversion, now consider him favorably as the lesser of two evils."

If this be true, and the *Post* was never a Bryan paper, the administration and the republican party have themselves only to blame. The American principle and the traditions of republican party policy on all these questions have been quite clear. The administration has wavered and halted, faltered, and sometimes reversed itself, so as to impress the people with its indecision if not lack of statesmanship. Whether this was due to timidity or indecision as to the true policy makes practically no difference in the result. The American people like decision and leadership. They admire courage of conviction and the willingness to assume responsibility. They are willing to be led, but they do not like the road to have too many turns in it. Indecision is counted for incapacity, for which they have no permanent use. Bryan may be wrong, as he is on almost every important question, but he does not waver. He keeps right along. He refuses even to give up silver when it is dead. There is a kind of shallow foolhardiness in this, yet it calls forth the expression: "Well, he is honest and stands for a principle," which is put to his credit. This kind of persistence commands a certain amount of respect, even though it leads to perdition. Consistent folly will usually command more respect than vacillation. If the *Post* is correct it is not the wisdom of Bryan but the weakness of the administration that is responsible.

THE BOERS are beginning to realize that after all the god of war gives victory to the strongest armies; that their pretence of fighting for freedom, when it is really only to prevent other people from having free-

dom, is not taken seriously by anybody who has the power to interfere. The proposition of Presidents Kruger and Steyn to the British government, to establish peace on anti-bellum conditions, was almost childish. Lord Salisbury's reply pointedly stated the case. It reminded the Boers that they were asked to redress certain obvious grievances, which they declined to recognize, and that, instead, they had for years prepared for war and when they were ready invaded British territory and caused a bloody conflict, which might have been avoided and the independence of the Free State and the entire self-government of the Transvaal been perpetuated by doing the ordinary decent thing toward the white people in South Africa. But they insisted upon violating nearly all the conditions of civil justice and political fairness, and practically treating Englishmen and Americans as an inferior race, to perpetuate which policy they took the initiative of war.

After briefly enumerating the salient facts, Lord Salisbury frankly informed them that the British government would see to it that another war of this kind should not occur. It is perfectly safe to prophesy that whenever the end comes the people of the Free State and the Transvaal will not lose one whit of their liberty. They will have all the rights of self-government, self-taxation and opportunities of social and industrial improvement that the country and their own capital and energy afford. They will have more real freedom than they had before, but they will not be permitted to subjugate white people nor deprive anybody of the freedom they themselves enjoy, and this is clearly in the interest of civilization.

EFFECTS OF NEW YORK SWEATSHOP LAW

HENRY WHITE, SECRETARY UNITED GARMENT WORKERS
OF AMERICA

Nowhere has the state exercised its corrective power with more beneficent results than in the workshop. Here it has rescued children pressed into the treadmill of labor, has protected women from excessive hours of toil, enforced the observance of cleanliness and decency, compelled the placing of safeguards around exposed machinery, and in many ways mitigated the harshness and dangers of factory life, and improved industrial conditions. After an experience of sixty-six years, since parliament passed the first real factory act, the authorities on social science are in complete accord as to the wisdom of such state action, which is in contrast to the intense opposition invoked against the first bill of 1833 which only forbade the employment of children under nine years of age, limited the working time of children between nine and thirteen to eight hours a day, and prevented night work for all persons between nine and eighteen years between 8.30 p. m. and 5.30 a. m.

Many of those who opposed such an obviously good measure were not inspired by malignant motives, as it might seem, but were persons of high character who contended for the principle of individual liberty and the "freedom of labor." If things were let alone, they declared, mankind would ultimately be benefited and if the offices of the state were invoked even to protect the tender children from exploitation, which was then England's shame, it would lead to the evils of paternalism, individual initiative would be suppressed, and the foundations of society weakened. This is a good ex-

ample of how far doctrinaire reasoning will go in the suppression of humane impulses. That common sense which checks extreme positions and prescribes safe limits to our practices and leads us to deal with situations as they arise, was not reckoned with. Since then the better rule that the province of the state is to correct such evils as cannot be cured by individual action has come to be recognized and followed.

Another important step in industrial progress is the recognition that business is of a social nature, that the "captains of industry" have obligations and duties to perform toward their employees and the public; that business success is dependent upon favorable social conditions to which a single person can contribute but little. This view has opened the door to remedial legislation, justified trade-union regulations, and created that common ground where persons differing otherwise in economic thought may meet and act together.

In response to the settled conviction that factory inspection is as much a part of the function of the state as police duty or the promotion of public health, the manufacturing states of the union have gradually added to the powers and scope of this department. New York and Massachusetts have taken the lead in this work, and since 1886 have undertaken the task of suppressing what is known as the sweating evil. This name describes the grinding method of letting and sub-letting work to petty contractors, which is largely done in home shops and in crowded work-rooms where the ordinary rules of health and comfort are disregarded. The large immigration from the countries of eastern Europe where manufacturing is still largely domestic is responsible for the extensive introduction of the system here, and the making of garments and other articles which can be conveniently made at home has fallen under its blight. In this case the efficiency of

the larger and better equipped factory is overcome by longer hours of toil, the saving of rent, the employment of members of the family and the evasion of the factory-law restrictions. This is why the large manufacturing firms, while transacting business in the most modern way, employ this benighted, antiquated system, which enables them to exploit the labor of the most helpless class of people and at the same time shirk responsibility for the conditions under which their goods are made by hiding behind the contractor. Where these same firms are obliged to have work performed direct, as in the cutting of garments, we witness a gratifying contrast, and we can see at a glance that the permanent cure for this evil lies in direct employment.

Here lies the problem of factory inspection. It is by making it inconvenient for a manufacturer to resort to the indirect or contract method, and uncomfortable for those employed in it, that the system would in time be discarded altogether, and the work done in regular shops which could readily be brought under the supervision of the factory inspectors and within the influence of the trade unions. The moral influence of publicity and numbers also helps to fix higher standards in the larger shops.

The courts in their desire to protect the sacredness of the home have interposed most serious obstacles in the way of reaching the domestic shops. In 1884 the Court of Appeals decided that the law prohibiting the manufacture of cigars in tenement houses which was advocated by Assemblyman, now Governor, Roosevelt, was invalid, as the family and immediate members thereof could not be restrained from working in their living rooms, and upon the ground that this law abrogated the liberties guaranteed all citizens under the constitution. This decision for a time baffled every attempt to bring the home shops under the authority of the

factory inspectors, until the way was pointed out by the Massachusetts licensing law of 1898, which required that every shop conducted in a dwelling room shall first obtain a permit, and such permit not to be granted until proper sanitary conditions are observed. No person is permitted under the law either to employ or contract with a person not holding a license for the making of articles whole or in parts in any living apartment.

The merit of this law is that it compels the occupants of these shops to have them registered, and prohibits their operation until the inspector is satisfied that the law is being observed. Although the provisions of the factory acts in regard to child labor and the hours of employment cannot be applied in the home shops, still the discretionary power invested in the inspectors and the latitude which the health laws afford are sufficient to discourage the system altogether by compelling strict compliance with the spirit of the law. An applicant for a license in case of a refusal is obliged to apply to the courts to compel the inspector to grant the license if denied without just cause, thus imposing upon the tenement-house worker the burden of proving his or her claim for the license.

This license feature was added to the factory laws of New York State last year and amended so as to apply to buildings situated in the rear of any tenement or dwelling house, and the owner, lessee and agent of the building where goods are unlawfully manufactured are held co-responsible. Violations of the law are punishable as a misdemeanor. The force of deputy inspectors was also increased from 36 to 50, but the additional duties of inspecting scaffolding and enforcing the life and limb law were taken from the police department and imposed upon the factory inspectors, thus scattering their efforts and detracting from the chief work of the department. It also enables the inspectors to refer

to these extra duties in extenuation of charges of inefficiency.

The general effectiveness of the factory laws, the large increase of the force of the department, and the sympathetic cooperation of the governor all combined to raise high expectations. While the amendments have only been in effect since last September, and a sufficient test could not have been made in the five months, enough evidence has been obtained to show that the method of enforcing it will have to be radically changed if the purpose of the law is not to be defeated. The duties of the inspector are of a reformatory character and, unless he is also fully imbued with the spirit of the work and has clearly in view the object to be attained, we cannot expect other than the kind of service we are accustomed to receive from public officials. The cause for this reluctance on the part of the officers to strictly apply the law is the fear of the political opposition which would be engendered. From a narrow political view such would be the case, for the manufacturers, sweaters, and the proprietors of the buildings used for sweatshops have votes and possibly influence, but the favorable public opinion which could be created through the achievement of substantial results would bring to the administration a popular support which would more than offset the other. But the licensing feature of the law need not be enforced arbitrarily and cause unnecessary hardship, for it can be applied in a way which would gradually tend to drive the home-workers into the legitimate workshop.

Factory Inspector John Williams furnished a statement to the writer showing that 6,576 applications for licenses were received from September 1st to December 14th, of which 3,860 were investigated; 2,472 were granted licenses, and 1,350 applicants were refused. Two arrests were made, one party being held under

\$300 bail, and the other reprimanded and released by the court. The total number of places in New York city affected by Article 7 of the Labor Laws is estimated by the inspector at about 15,000, and fourteen deputies are commissioned to enforce the provisions relating to tenement-house work.

It will be seen from this official statement that the surface, so far, has hardly been scratched and that a detailed inspection of so many places is out of the question. The force of example, therefore, must be relied upon, but only one person so far has been lightly punished by being held under \$300 bonds. The 1,350 persons to whom licenses have been refused are evidently working as usual in illegal places, while the 2,472 licenses were granted largely to people who work in tenements. What difference does it make to the tenement worker whether he is granted a license or not, if he is allowed to continue unmolested? If he was deprived of work by the firms supplying him with it, through the action of the inspectors, until he was able to show a license, there would be some incentive for him to procure one, but even then he could without much inconvenience, perhaps, obtain work from somewhere else.

Even let us suppose that every tenement worker applied for and received a license by complying technically with the requirements, would this create an improvement? Would the real object of the law to discourage and gradually suppress tenement-house manufacture be fulfilled? Unquestionably, no. After the very lenient provisions of the law are observed and the license secured, how can it be known whether the conditions will keep up to the standard. In fact, the person armed with a license is really granted immunity for a year, until the date of its expiration.

It is evident that a great deal remains to be done

in the way of improving the law and in the manner of its prosecution. All efforts should be concentrated in the localities where the sweating evil abounds, not only to regulate it, but to extirpate it altogether by making its very existence impossible. The mere recording of the number of inspections made and publishing them in the bulky volumes issued annually by the department is valueless, while entailing a great expense. It is the application of the laws with intelligent discrimination which can accomplish positive results. The effectiveness of law consists in the *way* in which the inspection is done, rather than a perfunctory number of inspections.

As we cannot hope, apparently, to secure officers who will be as advanced as the law itself, the law must be extended so as to make manufacturing in living rooms more difficult. The courts having declared against the validity of any legislation which prohibits immediate members of a family from engaging in any legal occupation in their own apartments, then the desired end must be attained by other methods.

It was recommended to the governor last year that the granting of licenses should be forbidden to any apartments reached by the same entrance or stairway used for living rooms. At the time it was considered too drastic a remedy, necessitating as it would such alterations to a house in order to make a separate entrance as to practically debar working in tenement rooms. But the decidedly unsatisfactory results so far and the small probability of the object of the laws being carried out entitled this proposition to more serious consideration.

It was thought when the new law was framed that an effective blow had been dealt at the sweating system. The real merit of the law is in the clause which prevents a person from conducting a shop in a dwelling

house, or in a building in the rear of a tenement unless a license is first procured. Thus far, however, we find that sweatshops have actually been legalized and a gloss of respectability given to them by the very law designed to suppress them. A manufacturer accused of having his goods made in sweatshops pointed to the law and said "that the person making the charge was ignorant of the fact that the law had put an end to sweatshops, and that the state compelled all work-rooms to be clean."

Thousands of licenses have been granted to places where only the bare sanitary conditions were complied with, at the time the licenses were applied for, and yet they are only a small fraction of the number of shops which are to be regulated. That the law was considered adequate at the time is shown by the following testimony given by Mr. Daniel O'Leary (then chief factory inspector, and who now has charge of the licensing bureau), before the Industrial Commission at Washington in March last:

"Mr. North.—Now, what effect would this law, the present law, or the amended law, have on the sweatshop system?

"Mr. O'Leary.—Well, from my own intimate knowledge of the subject, I may be over-zealous perhaps, but its literal enforcement would mean the obliteration of the sweating business.

"Mr. North.—You think that it would be the abolition of the sweatshop?

"Mr. O'Leary.—Yes.

"Mr. North.—You think that it is desirable?

"Mr. O'Leary.—I think it is, judging from present conditions."

The effectiveness of the amended law having been testified to by the very person now charged with its prosecution, it would be interesting indeed to know

why there is no apparent change for the better; why the thousands of shops deemed unworthy of a license continue to operate as usual; why only one person has been lightly punished for violation, although in a single trip through the sweatshop districts hundreds of violations can be pointed out; why manufacturers continue to give out goods to contractors to be made, and the contractors in turn subdivide the work to others without ascertaining whether the parties receiving the work have a proper shop, which neglect in itself constitutes a punishable offense.

Can it be that the Empire State is powerless to enforce the simple provision of the factory laws in the interests of public health and decency? This is the old familiar story of the reluctance of the authorities to enforce laws in the interests of the "under dogs," the victims of vicious industrial conditions, but they are quick to respond to the needs of the comfortable classes. Where the welfare of the multitude is concerned, the laws are only applied by the constant nagging and prodding of the citizens.

The inspectors have shown a peculiar reluctance in cooperating with the societies and individuals interested in workshop reform, and to whose efforts the present factory laws are largely due. They have always regarded these voluntary workers with much disfavor, fearing to have their affairs closely watched. This is unfortunate, because the voluntary services of persons so sincerely interested in the subject would go far toward compensating for the inadequate force of the department. This suggests the idea of creating honorary inspectors to serve without pay, to be appointed by the governor and given authority to enter and inspect shops and report violations to the factory inspectors. Such inspectors might be selected from the nominations made by trade unions and kindred soci-

eties. The moral effect of this kind of work upon the deputy inspectors, as well as upon the employers and employed, ought to be of great value. It would create a watchfulness that would overcome the passiveness which soon follows an agitation.

On December 9th, at a conference held under the auspices of the Church Association for the Advancement of the Interests of Labor, held at St. Stephen's Parish Building, comprising representatives of trade unions, consumers' leagues, the University Settlement, and Social Reform Club, which was attended by the writer, and by the editor of GUNTON'S MAGAZINE, committees were appointed to investigate the conditions of the workshops, ascertain the effects of the new law, and suggest to the legislature needed amendments.

A large number of reports giving the actual condition of the shops inspected, signed by the special inspectors, have since been forwarded to the governor by the chairman, Rev. F. J. C. Moran. This conference meets every other week, and the mere fact alone of such meetings composed of earnest advocates of factory reform has had the effect of stirring the department into greater activity. The legal committee has decided to recommend the following amendments to the factory acts:

First, an increase of ten inspectors for the district of Greater New York. Such inspectors to be conversant with the prevailing language spoken by the people engaged in the occupations where the sweating evil exists and to have a practical knowledge of one or more of the said trades.

Second, the appointment by the governor of honorary inspectors to serve for the term of one year. Such inspectors to be given authority to enter and inspect workshops and report violations of the law to the de-

partment, and to cooperate with it in prosecuting violators.

Should these amendments be passed by the legislature and approved by the governor, the Empire State will lead all the rest in the beneficent work of ameliorating industrial conditions and will be setting an example which will be followed by other states.

The argument commonly used against factory legislation, that the state adopting the most stringent laws will so increase the cost of manufacture as to drive an industry out of its limits, at first thought seems to be well founded. The effect of these laws, however really is not to increase the cost of production materially, but to compel manufacturing to be done under higher conditions. Cleanliness and good management go together; order and system are other words for economy. It may be more convenient to give work to unclean tenement shops but if that method is interfered with by law the same manufacturer will have it done in better shops or if necessary conduct one of his own. Progress must often be forced and wise factory legislation has a wholesome stimulating effect upon industry, and improves the moral tone of the community.

A market exists in a certain place because of a number of favorable conditions, and even the added cost of labor need not be detrimental as it may be offset by other advantages and by superior business sagacity. There is an exception however in the case of child labor where it can be used, but a more enlightened spirit is putting its mark of disapproval upon it. Even the southern states will have to succumb to its influence. An agitation carried there must arouse the public conscience, and if not congress should find a way to deal with it, in behalf of the whole nation. I venture to say here that there are even greater considerations than profits.

Deplorable as the conditions of labor are in the congested quarters of New York, the transition from the tenement to the factory building and the getting away from the place where the family is employed and where the working-day and child labor cannot be regulated marks a great advance. Many tenements have been converted into factory buildings and, although the latter are hardly worthy of the name, the change is wholesome and encouraging, and could be greatly accelerated by the factory inspectors. The improvement in the construction of houses and the greater activity of the health department have also contributed toward this result. If by example the value of factory legislation could be made apparent to the ordinary citizen the state would surely respond by providing the inspectors with facilities commensurate with its importance.

CIVIC AND EDUCATIONAL NOTES

A Halt in Educational Reform

There seems to be little prospect of educational reform in New York state this year. There is not enough support for any one of the four propositions for unification of the regents' department and the department of public instruction to pass it. The plan reported by the governor's unification committee provided that the head of the new department of education should be appointed by the governor and confirmed by the senate. The minority report urged that he should be appointed exclusively by the regents. A compromise measure, championed by Mr. Frederick W. Holls and Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, proposes that the chancellor or commissioner be appointed by the governor and confirmed by the regents; and the latest proposal is a revision of the first and calls for the election of the head of the department by the senate and assembly jointly, as United States senators are chosen.

Two of these plans frankly put the educational system of the state under direct political management; one keeps it entirely with the regents, and one is a compromise. The very intensity of this preliminary struggle shows the sort of discord and wire-pulling that might be expected if the believers in political control should win. Better leave things as they are, with all the waste and duplication, than to destroy the time-honored and time-justified independence of the university. If unification is accomplished on the right basis, however, there is no man in the state better qualified for the post of chancellor than Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, Dean of the Faculty of Philosophy in Columbia University. The whole wrangle will have

been well worth while if, finally, a man of Dr. Butler's calibre can be secured for a long term to administer the educational system of New York state.

**Higher
Education
for Negroes**

Professor Du Bois, of the Department of Economics and History in Atlanta University, is taking steps to find out the practical results of higher education of negroes. It is no uncommon thing in the South to find bitter opposition to even ordinary education for negroes. The argument is that it makes them discontented and unwilling to work at the only occupations open to the colored race in that section; social distinction restricting them to rough labor and personal service. There is truth in this,—yet Booker T. Washington has been proving for several years that negroes who are really equipped with industrial skill, decent habits and willingness to work can make headway and break down prejudice against them, and do not have to come North for that purpose, either.

Several southern states have tried lately to adopt a scheme whereby only the monies collected from colored taxpayers shall be applied to the education of colored children. Of course this would be a very neat way of depriving negroes of all educational opportunities, but it seems unlikely that southern public sentiment will sustain any such preposterous trick. With reference to higher education the antagonism is more pronounced and outspoken. You will hear it denounced as simply the means of turning out a stream of colored preachers, lawyers and doctors who scorn to touch a shovel or a hoe and become loafers and general nuisances. Cases can be cited that sustain this, no doubt; but for the most part it is an absurd exaggeration.

Professor Du Bois now intends to collect data on

the subject, so that the truth one way or the other may be known and made available for future discussions. He is sending out blanks all over the country, so far as college-bred negroes can be traced, and to all persons and institutions that are likely to have any knowledge of such negroes. These blanks are to be filled out in detail, showing the early life, occupations since graduation, present occupation, instances of special success, *et cetera*. Whoever has any personal knowledge of a college-bred negro can help this work along by sending to Professor W. E. B. Du Bois, Atlanta University, for one of these blanks and returning it with the information filled in. If the responses are at all general it will be a very valuable accomplishment. If higher education for negroes is a success, the fact needs to be known and made known; and if it is a failure that needs to be known too, and more effort devoted to something else.

**The Menace of
Vile Tenements**

A very unique exhibition was held in New York city early in February. It was a practical representation of tenement-house conditions and tenement-house reform, and lasted two weeks. Besides maps and charts innumerable, showing conditions in every important American city and many of the largest in Europe, there were models of typical tenements and plans for sanitary construction. The exhibition was prepared by the tenement-house committee of the Charity Organization Society, and was designed to stir up renewed interest in tenement-house reform. Considering that 2,000 new tenements were erected in Manhattan and the Bronx during 1899, and 15,000 during the last ten years, almost all bad, it is plain that the evil is outgrowing all the reform efforts that are being made.

The typical tenement house is built on a lot 25 by 100, and a majority of the rooms get their only light

and air from a narrow air shaft between the buildings, from three to five feet in width and sixty to seventy feet deep, according to the height of the building. Generally this shaft is closed at both ends. In one city block, illustrated at the exhibition, there are 39 tenement houses, with 605 apartments, accommodating 2,781 persons: 263 of these apartments are two-room and 179 three-room; 441 of the rooms are absolutely without light or ventilation, and 635 open only on the air shaft. The sanitary conveniences are shockingly inadequate, there being not a single bath in the entire block. Mr. Lawrence Veiller, of the tenement-house committee, who described the exhibit in the *March Charities Review*, recalls in this connection the fact that in 1894 it was discovered that, out of the 255,000 persons included in the investigation of that year, only 306 had any bathing opportunities whatever. He does not believe that this is wholly because they would not bathe if they could, and cites the fact that during the last year 120,000 baths were paid for at five cents each at New York's one all-year public bath house.

Most striking are the maps showing the location of poverty and disease. There is hardly a tenement of all the 44,000 in Manhattan and the Bronx that does not show applications for charity from at least five and in some cases seventy-five different families within the last few years. Hardly a tenement fails to show a record for tuberculosis during the last five years. Out of this poverty and disease grow worse things. "It is a simple matter," says Mr. Veiller "to investigate the records of our reformatories, hospitals, dispensaries, and institutions of similar kind, to find out what proportion of the patients and inmates come from tenement houses. Here in New York we know that nearly all are tenement-house dwellers."

The problem is not to be solved by sending these people away to the country. As Mr. Veiller says:

“Let us not deceive ourselves and neglect the housing of this population, with the thought that people ought to live in the country. The well-to-do classes do not live in the country, and so long as they live here there will be a large number of persons to do their work, on whom they are dependent for their very lives, ‘hewers of wood and drawers of water,’ or their modern equivalent.”

Rigid prohibition of certain types of buildings, wholesale condemnation of existing rookeries, beginning with the worst specimens, and specific requirements for future construction, accompanied by proper inspection and enforcement,—nothing short of this kind of policy will do much. The committee exhibited charts of sixteen intolerable sections which could be wiped out entirely and room made for greatly needed parks and playgrounds. In addition, plans were shown of model tenements, so feasible that already a number of builders are planning to adopt them. These will contain no air-shaft rooms, but will have every sanitary appliance as well as adequate means of access. Why not make this sort of construction compulsory? At least, make it the minimum requirement. Of course there would be a demagogical outcry about “blocking the growth of the city,” just as there is whenever it is proposed to shut out immigration. All right; real growth is in quality, not size, and we cannot afford to exchange civilization for bigness.

THE OPEN FORUM

This department belongs to our readers, and offers them full opportunity to "talk back" to the editor, give information, discuss topics or ask questions on subjects within the field covered by GUNTON'S MAGAZINE. All communications, whether letters for publication or inquiries for the "Question Box," must be accompanied by the full name and address of the writer. This is not required for publication, if the writer objects, but as evidence of good faith. Anonymous correspondents are ignored.

LETTERS FROM CORRESPONDENTS

The Mormons and Polygamy

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—The *Troy* (N. Y.) *Press* of February 7th takes exception to some statements in my article on "The Mormon Power in America," which appeared in the February number of GUNTON'S MAGAZINE.

As to the "correction" that Joseph Smith was neither a polygamist nor an endorser of that doctrine, history states that Joseph Smith did secretly enunciate that belief but it was not publicly proclaimed, and that because of their immoral conduct at Palmyra, which also included depredations upon the property of others, the sect found it inconvenient to tarry longer there. They were driven from Kirtland, Ohio, also for immoral conduct and for swindling. Joseph Smith had established a bank there and issued "wild-cat" money. Their conduct at Independence, Missouri, was similar, and they were also driven from there in consequence of their depredations upon the property of others. It is also stated in history that they were living in polygamy there, and that this first attracted the attention of the Missouri farmers to the "strange sect." As to Joseph Smith's endorsement of polygamy: Mormon history credits him with a "vision" which

commanded him to promulgate it to the "chosen people." It is stated that at Nauvoo he received a visit from an angel with a drawn sword, who told him that the time was come to announce the doctrine to the people. This he did to the assembled twelve apostles; it was then preached from the temple, and afterwards incorporated in their bible as an article of faith. It was known that Joseph Smith and other leading officials were living in polygamy at Nauvoo before this alleged vision, and their attempt to force it upon their people as a church doctrine met with failure and led to some defection. Then, the sacrilegious duplicity of a "vision" and visit from an angel was resorted to. They were driven from these places mainly because of their polygamous practices; and their aim was to get beyond civilization and law where they would be undisturbed.

Brigham Young, who usurped the presidency of the church upon the death of Joseph Smith, led them to Utah where his power was unrestrained by law, and then the doctrine of polygamy was again commanded. Here the Mormons lived in polygamy in defiance of our laws, and when an army was sent to suppress the rebellion their "Nauvoo Legion" met that army on the borders of Utah and despoiled the property of the advance guard. A battle would have followed, only that the government had sent a "commission" which reached Utah almost as soon as the army. As I have also stated, the Mormons claim that they are the "chosen people" and that they are destined to rule not only this country but also the world, spiritually and temporally. Their doctrine is a close union of state and church, with the church as the supreme head. They recognize no other power. They ever have been opposed to the government, and as their power increases so will their opposition. Mormonism is based upon polygamy, and when the leaders renounce that

doctrine they renounce their church. As they claim that polygamy is a "revelation" received through an angel it is not clear how they can renounce it. A divine ordinance cannot be abrogated or even "suspended" by human agency. Of course Joseph Smith perpetrated a fraud when he professed to have received a visit from an angel authorizing polygamy, as he also did when he professed to have received golden plates from an angel, from which the Mormon bible was alleged to have been translated.

"Polygamistic Mormonism" has not received its death knell, as the *Press* believes. The church leader did not say that polygamy would be abandoned. His "manifesto" only suspended it. The leaders know that to renounce this practice and admit that their "divine" ordinance is wrong would produce a schism in the church. They deny the right of any human government to interfere with what they term a "celestial" institution.

In the meantime, proselyting continues and the sect is increasing in numbers. The Mormon problem is not yet solved. The cry against slavery was loud and long, and resulted in the greatest war of the century. Little is heard from these "humanitarians" about the other and greater evil which enslaves both the body and mind—Mormonism.

J. M. SCANLAND, Denver, Col,

Reform in School Methods

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—In the February, 1900, number of your magazine you published a letter of Superintendent C. L. McLane in which he states that I seem to have overlooked one point which he fears is fatal to my scheme for a better division of labor in schools, as out-

lined in the October, 1899, number of your magazine. The point is "the matter of the arrangement of a program that will accommodate such pupils as advance beyond their grade or fall behind." Judging from his remarks following this statement, he seems to have the idea that I intended to offer a scheme that would accomplish what the various "elastic" systems of grading are designed to do, namely, that of devising a system that will be highly efficient in its adaptability to stuffing a certain number and kind of text-books into pupils at any rate desired by or found possible for the pupil. This is not what I intended at all. I intended to convey the idea that what usually underlies attempts to make "elastic" systems is wrong from an educational or from a common-sense point of view. These "elastic" systems are usually based on the assumption (implied) that a pupil who can recite upon this series of text-books so that the teacher can report him as standing, say 90, in each subject has gotten about all that there is to be had from the school. Too often this assumption corresponds with the facts.

So far as the particular point mentioned is concerned, I considered that my scheme would work in such a way that no one would be ahead of or behind his grade except that he might have greater capacity or better training or better opportunity for doing some particular subject or subjects than some of his classmates. In short, I intended to have my scheme imply that there would be no grades in the ordinary sense but simply a course or courses of study, which as a matter of course is divided somewhat by the subjects whenever the pupil has attained sufficient knowledge and training to begin a formal study of subjects. In my paper on "Changes in the Course of Study," published in the December, 1899, number of GUNTON'S MAGAZINE, I have attempted to give some further idea of the manipu-

lation of the course of study which I believe throws some light on this difficulty.

It seems to me to be desirable to devote a little space to detail in order that the method may be made clearer. Let us suppose that we have a class of pupils who have begun the study of history, rhetoric, geometry and physics together in the high school. Generally it will be found that some *can* go faster than the others in some of the subjects. Suppose that two or three are able to go faster in physics than is found to be desirable for the rest of the class but are only able to do about the average work in the other subjects. Instead of wishing that there was another class that had covered, say, a month more work in the text-book so that these could be pushed along into it, the teacher should be glad that there are a few in the class to whom special work can be given in order that they may acquire a broader and firmer grasp of the subject than is usually obtained by the pupil in the secondary schools. If, however, these two or three were not doing the average work in the other subjects it might be advisable to give them special attention in these subjects instead of special work in physics. The session-room teacher could be of much service in adjusting such matters.

Again, let us suppose that two or three *cannot* go as fast as the average of the class in physics but do the average work in the other subjects. They should then have special attention in physics in order that they may do even the average work of the class. If in a reasonable time it is found that they cannot do justice to themselves in physics even with special attention then it should be dropped and special work given in some or all of the other subjects as indicated above.

While on the subject of the difficulties of my scheme I would like to suggest that the great difficulty of the program will be an arrangement of hours of recitation

so that pupils who have not followed the regular schedule may not be confronted with conflict of hours of recitation. Each pupil would have to consider the schedule, which should not be changed very much from year to year, in making his choice of studies. This choice of studies should always be made with the assistance of the session-room teacher.

Permit me to take this opportunity of thanking Superintendent McLane for his letter and you for publishing it. It is only in this way that these problems can be worked out.

W. F. EDWARDS, Orchard Lake, Mich.

Feb. 8, 1900.

Senator Beveridge's Philippine Speech

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—While as a rule I am much pleased with your treatment of public problems, it seems to me that your remarks in the February number on "The Philippine Debate in Congress" is open to just criticism. You assail Senator Beveridge's speech, and say that he said very little about the "inevitable duty placed upon us by providence," or the plea of "benevolent assimilation." Very true, and had he done so, you justly could and probably would have been still more severe in your criticism. Such expressions count for little besides gush unless fortified by facts. You go on to say, "on the contrary his plea was distinctly and unequivocally imperialistic." This is unequivocally a mistake. Mr. Beveridge in the first part of his speech gave considerable space to the production of evidence from the highest sources, sustained by his own observations, that the Philippines were not capable of self-government in any proper sense of the term, and that to give them independence would be disastrous to them,

and a dishonorable evasion of our own responsibilities. His reasons were certainly not puerile. Having reached that conclusion, the next step necessarily was to determine what our duty was in the premises.

Again, Mr. Beveridge at considerable length gave the details of a plan of government for the Philippines, that would best promote the welfare of their people, and fit them as fast as possible for self-government. Whether his plans were altogether wise is simply a matter of opinion. But there was not in the plan he proposed a single proposition that gave even a hint of being mercenary. Having disposed of the points of right, and of our duty in the matter, upon which indeed there is little diversity of opinion only in the minds of those who oppose the policy of the administration as a principle of party policy, Mr. Beveridge turned to the discussion of a question upon which there is a much wider difference of opinion. And that is the question of material advantage. There are a great number of our people who think we should consider first our own pecuniary interests, and let people in distant islands take care of themselves, and who much doubt whether it will profit us to hold the Philippines. It was necessary to exploit that question and Senator Beveridge did so with a force and effect that I have not seen equaled by any other man. And that may be one cause of his being assailed. You rebuke Senator Beveridge because he asserted that the public utterances of those who sympathize with the insurgents were responsible for much of the Philippine troubles, but his position is sustained by an abundance of facts, and by the opinions of almost every man well qualified to judge, who has been in the Philippines. Men are justly held responsible for the natural consequences of their acts, and neither the age nor the past services of Mr. Hoar (whose name was not mentioned) can relieve him from that respon-

sibility. Nor can the youth of Mr. Beveridge discredit his arguments. If Mr. Hoar chooses to continually exploit a subtle and sublimated theory of the doctrine of the "consent of the governed," which the authors of that expression never dreamed of, and certainly never put into practice, that is no reason why the young statesmen of the country should put their hands over their mouths. You quote with approval the declaration of Senator Wolcott that Mr. Beveridge's speech was "base and sordid." I never could understand why Mr. Wolcott should have made that remark unless it was through jealousy of the rising young senator, or through a desire to pose as a man of a superior sense of honor. And I am quite as much surprised to see it meet your approval. Senator Beveridge's remarks were not personal, Senator Wolcott's remark was personal, offensive and untrue. Viewing Beveridge's speech as a whole we may well challenge either of you to produce one sentence from it that can possibly be characterized as base or sordid.

There is something sordid in the contention that we should consult pecuniary interest without regard to the welfare of the Philippines. After pointing out what he conceived to be our duty toward the Philippines, it was not sordid in Mr. Beveridge to demonstrate that the discharge of that duty would redound to our benefit also. Such contention was in line with a great ethical as well as economic truth; that in the long run the interests of all are identical.

J. W. SNELL, Sault Ste. Marie, Mich.

[The emphasis of the senator's speech was on our material advantage in annexation. Our criticism was, and is, on the general spirit of this line of argument, not on specific sentences.]

QUESTION BOX

Real Cause of Business Depression

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—I have been reading the chapter on “Business Depressions” in your “Principles of Social Economics,” and am rather surprised to find that you reduce all such depressions or panics to one cause, low consumption on the part of the community. While this may be the underlying cause in some cases, is it not true that the low consumption is quite as often the result as the cause of business depression and panic? For example, is not the business depression of 1893–1896 chargeable to the fright of capitalists at the prospect tariff tinkering? also to the checking of credits due to monetary uncertainty, etc. These causes operated on the production side of the industrial community, and resulted in enforced lessening of consumption, which just before was very large. In other words, are there not various other causes which may be said to bring on panics and depressions besides the one only which you mention?

STUDENT,

New York City.

It is essentially true that business depressions are the result of relatively low consumption; that is to say, either through consumption being actually diminished or failing to keep pace with the growth of production. This result, however, may sometimes be brought about by causes which directly operate upon production, as was the case in 1893. The first disturbance which led to that protracted depression was, as our correspondent suggests, in the realm of credits. It was believed that

the tariff was going to be practically abolished, and that this would give the American market to foreign producers. In effect this was a diminution of consumption. That is to say, it was looked upon as a coming diminution of consumption of American products. This fact acted upon American production. As soon as it was believed that American products would not be consumed, all the forces set in to stop them from being produced. Bankers refused to give credit accommodations to manufacturers, because they thought they could not sell their goods. New capital refused to go into business because it thought there would be no market for the products. Hence orders for new machinery, contracts for new mills, were cancelled. Manufacturers were afraid to buy stock ahead because they were afraid they could not sell their goods. So far as the influence on American industries is concerned, to have consumers supplied from another quarter is exactly the same as diminishing consumption. The effects are identical. If it could have been assured that the consumption would not be transferred from American to foreign goods, there would have been no depression. Confidence would not have been disturbed and factories would have gone on as before.

Some English History Items

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—There have been a great many historical references in some of President Gunton's lectures in the *Bulletin*, and I would appreciate it if you would give a little more of an account of the wars of the roses, the protestant reformation and the Peterloo massacre ; their cause, magnitude and effect.

E. S. DELANA, Norway, Iowa.

Properly to answer these questions would take a full lecture. However, a few leading facts can be briefly summarized.

(1.) The wars of the roses resulted from a quarrel between the descendants of the third and fourth sons of Edward III. Edward III. had seven sons. The eldest was Edward, better known as the "Black Prince," but he died before his father ; and on the death of King Edward (1377) the son of the Black Prince became heir to the throne as Richard II., at eleven years of age. He became very unpopular, and in 1399 his Cousin Henry, the son of John of Gaunt, fourth son of Edward III., raised an army, deposed Richard, made himself king, and reigned with the approval of parliament as Henry IV.

This was the beginning of the House of Lancaster, which retained undisputed power for fifty-six years, through the persons of three Henrys, IV., V and VI. In 1455 a quarrel arose between the reigning house and the Duke of York, who was a descendant of Lionel, the third son of Edward III., which resulted in an appeal to arms by the representatives of the two branches, Lancaster and York. The emblem of the house of York was a white rose, and that of Lancaster was a red rose ; hence the wars were called the wars of the roses. The struggle lasted thirty years (1455 to 1485), during which eighty princes of the royal blood, two hundred of the nobility and a hundred thousand of the gentry, the flower of England, were killed. From 1455 to 1461 the Lancasters were successful, but in the latter year they were defeated by the Yorkites, when Edward of York ascended the throne as Edward IV. He reigned twenty-three years (1461 to 1483) and left two sons ; the elder, who was thirteen years of age, being proclaimed king as Edward V. The king's uncle, Richard of Gloucester, was appointed protector until

the young prince became of age, but Richard planned to have both the princes murdered in the tower, and himself proclaimed king as Richard III.

His wicked career gave a plausible excuse for opposition, which was taken advantage of by the Earl of Richmond, now the only surviving heir of the house of Lancaster, who raised an army and met the king at Bosworth, Leicestershire, where Richard was slain by his rival's own hand. Henry of Richmond was crowned as Henry VII. Henry VII., who was indirectly descended from Edward III. through the Lancaster line—being (through illegitimate relation) the great-grandson of John of Gaunt — married Elizabeth of York, the daughter of Edward IV., and so united both the York and Lancaster lines in his own family, and with his ascension to the throne ended the wars of the roses.

(2.) The protestant reformation may be said to have begun under Edward III., in the fourteenth century, through Wyclif, who translated the Bible into English and organized the army of barefooted priests. In the fifteenth century it was revived by John Huss, of Prague, who was burned at the stake in 1406. But the protestant reformation as a continuous movement which resulted in the establishment of the protestant church began in Germany in 1517, by Martin Luther, who posted on the doors of the cathedral in Wittenburg ninety-five theses against the practice that then prevailed of selling indulgences, that is, selling the privilege to indulge in certain sins. For this he was excommunicated, whereupon he burned the canons of the church, defied papal authority, and began to propagate the new or protestant religion.

A little later in England, Henry VIII., who wanted to put away his first wife, Katherine, in order that he might marry Anne Boleyn, quarrelled with the pope because he would not accomodate him with a divorce.

The spirit of the reformation had spread from Germany, and the abuses of the church were intolerable, so that altogether the sentiment in the community was ripe for any action against the church. Henry abolished the jurisdiction of the pope and set up a protestant church under the protection of the state. The contest was fierce and bloody, and lasted through the reigns of Henry and his son Edward VI., after which Mary ascended the throne for five years (1553 to 1558) and re-established the Catholic religion. At her death, in 1558, Elizabeth ascended the throne and reigned forty-five years, during which time the protestant religion was thoroughly established, never again to be overthrown.

(3.) The Peterloo massacre occurred in Peterloo Square, Manchester, the site upon which now stands Free Trade Hall. It was the occasion of a mass meeting held on the sixteenth of August, 1819, to be addressed by Henry Hunt, the then leader of a reform movement. The movement was to secure universal suffrage, vote by ballot and repeal of the corn laws. The meeting was called in Peterloo Square for the purpose of passing resolutions and petitioning parliament to grant this request. The government took time by the forelock, had soldiers located all around the square, and when the meeting assembled charged the people with bayonets. Many were killed and something over two hundred were wounded. This has ever since been known as the Peterloo Massacre. The effect, however, was not to stop the agitation but rather to stimulate it, and it continued until the suffrage was extended to the middle class in 1832, the corn laws repealed in 1846, the suffrage still further extended to the laboring class in 1866, and ultimately to the farm laborers, together with vote by ballot (secret vote) in 1874.

BOOK REVIEWS

DEMOCRACY AND EMPIRE. With Studies of their Psychological, Economic, and Moral Foundations. By Franklin Henry Giddings, M.A., Ph.D., author of "The Principles of Sociology." The Macmillan Co., New York and London. 1900. Octavo, cloth, 360 pp. \$2.50.

Like everything that Professor Giddings writes, this book is an attempt to discuss the question at issue from the background of psychological and political philosophy. It is an effort to justify from the point of view of economic and social evolution the expansion policy of the United States in extending its jurisdiction over Hawaii, Puerto Rico, the Philippines, and, as Professor Giddings thinks, ultimately of Cuba. It is by far the ablest presentation of the subject that has yet been attempted. A glance at the contents shows the comprehensiveness of treatment. It is written from the point of view of the free-trade economist of the most philosophical type. The author sees in expansion the one force that will finally break through the protective doctrine, which he thinks is far more a matter of national feeling than of economic reasoning. But in it all, able and cohesive as much of his reasoning is, he overlooks what is after all the chief feature of national progress,—development of the internal life of the nation. He sees the nation's greatness through its expansive authority, increase and competition with other nations, rather than in the development of its own industrial resources and social life.

It has ever been the prevalent idea that national greatness consisted in the extent of its political authority. This may assure its greatness in comparative extent of power, but it does not necessarily assure its

height in civilization. On the contrary, the very effort to extend a nation's political authority may prevent, and frequently has prevented, its own rise in the scale of civilization. It tends to concentrate the thought and enthusiasm of the people on its military or naval accomplishments, which at best are brutalizing, and lessen their concentration of thought and interest on improvement in the quality of national life and character. Indeed, it is almost a commonplace that to raise a national conflict abroad is effectively to distract attention from problems at home. Any great expansion of national energy horizontally is sure to lessen the growth perpendicularly. In proportion as a nation is called upon to govern barbarians it is called upon to use methods of government which are repulsive to highly civilized people. To the extent that a nation governs any portion of its people by despotism and arbitrary dictation does its finer sensibility of democracy, social equity, and industrial ethics become blunted; yet, if it does not exercise more or less despotism it is ineffective in governing low types.

England, for example, with its very growth of liberal spirit and democracy at home, is becoming less fitted [to govern barbarians or half-civilized races by despotism abroad. This is even more true of the United States in its present expansion policy. The peoples of the new territories to which our expansion applies are much lower in industrial and political development than are the Boers of the Transvaal. They are less capable of democratic self-government, and therefore will necessarily call for a greater amount of despotism in their government than would be tolerated in South Africa. This will be still further from the real spirit of American government at home than will the attitude of Lord Salisbury in South Africa be to that of the British people. As Professor Giddings properly anticipates,

this will in the nature of things carry with it all the incentives for low political management and corrupt administration, because the very use of despotism is an invitation to unconscionable conduct, dishonest treatment and generally low methods. Contempt for the governed always lowers the standard of government, and to the extent that we are compelled to disregard democracy and can indulge in low methods of government over any section of our people do we tend to lower the standard of political morality and pure democracy for the whole. The more democratic a nation becomes, therefore, the higher must be the civilization of new groups over which its authority extends, if the expansion is not to react to the lowering of the standard at home. Russia may subject Poland and treacherously rob Finland of its rights without materially lowering its standard at home, because its home standard is despotism. But this cannot be done with impunity by such nations as England, and least of all by the United States. We may have empire without endangering democracy, but it must be empire that gives substantial democracy to the annexed groups, and not empire which has to govern its new possessions by despotism.

In his chapter on "The Consent of the Governed" Professor Giddings effectively disposes of the hackneyed use of that phrase. He shows that in our own history, as well as that of other nations, nearly all expansion and political integration has been without the consent of the governed. The true interpretation, he thinks, of that phrase is that the new government shall so justify itself as ultimately to win the consent and approval of the governed. It is indeed true that if political development and integration could never legitimately take place without the consent of all the governed it might never occur at all. In defending our expansion into Hawaii, Puerto Rico, the Philippines

and ultimately Cuba, Professor Giddings thinks that it is no accident but the inevitable movement of the American people from their very nature and character. He says (p. 270): "There are not lacking reasons for thinking that the war with Spain was as inevitable as any event of nature, and that, at this particular stage in the development of the United States, territorial expansion is as certain as the advent of spring after winter." This he sees in the restless daring and pioneer energy in the character of the American people:—

"It is not a hundred and fifty years since the pioneers of the Ohio and Mississippi valleys were making clearings in the wilderness during intervals of exterminating warfare. It is not yet fifty years since the later pioneers of the western plains were crossing a pathless desert, in caravans that left a trail of bleaching bones to mark a route for those who should follow them to the El Dorado of the West. Are we to suppose that the offspring of such men, in so short an interval, have lost those instincts that lead men to prefer enterprises that call for physical courage and resourcefulness? It is true that we are restless under the disappearance of opportunity for adventure and daring enterprise. It is therefore certain that, more than most nations, we are liable to an outbreak of warlike spirit under what we conceive to be real provocation; and that no other nation is so likely as ours to turn itself into great armies and to fight with an indomitable determination to conquer, when it is once convinced of the justice of its cause."

Well, there is a background of truth in this, but it seems to be wholly unsustained by any reference to the particular facts of the case. From this and much that follows in the same chapter one would suppose that the American nation had taken on an irrepressible impulse not merely to make war on Spain but to enter upon a daring enterprise of expansion that would brook no opposition. Nothing of the kind has been visible. In the first place, there was no real public enthusiasm about the war with Spain until we began to have unparalleled victories. If Dewey's fight at Manila had been a more uneven battle, and we had lost a few ships, and if Toral's force at Santiago had fought instead of capitulating at sight, and if our fleet had been com-

pelled really to struggle for supremacy off Santiago, it is more than probable that the public sentiment of the country would have disapproved of the war.

Nor can it be said that there was any expression of this adventurous spirit toward expansion during the time of the peace conference. So far as we remember, there was not a public meeting held or any other form of popular expression anywhere in the country expressing a national feeling in favor of taking the Philippines. About all the expression that took place at all was against it. This was the work of the administration, and it has not yet received popular approval. There is in truth nothing in the experience as indicated by any popular movements, any public expression of opinion or other means of ascertaining the national sentiment, to sustain this inference of the warlike, daring, adventurous spirit of the American people, especially as intruding our political authority into other nations. The reverse seems to be the characteristic of the entire spirit of the American people.

The real background for this line of reasoning by Dr. Giddings is revealed a few pages later, when he discusses the free-trade aspect of the subject. The conversion of the American people to a free-trade doctrine by cold reasoning and presentation of statistical data he thinks was entirely hopeless. It needed something that would more strongly appeal to the feelings and imagination than logic and facts. The annexation of foreign territory, with the lively picture of oriental trade, forced interrelation with foreign powers and the protection of our standing on the other side of the globe, will create a national feeling which transcends the narrow limits of a protective policy. And there is truth in this. The very fact that we have great interests, even if it is only to fight savages on the other side of the globe, and that we are to be consulted more

and more about the policy in Asia, will transfer the national interest from the efforts to protect and develop domestic industries to what for the moment seems to be the larger sphere of helping to slice up China. That imperialism is more likely than any theorizing discussion to break up the protective policy and inaugurate free trade is undoubtedly true, and that reason alone is sufficient to condemn the expansion policy.

But, from the point of view of Dr. Giddings and those who think with him that the greatest development is to extend our authority over an increasing area, the abolition of all lines of industrial demarcation is the great thing to be accomplished. From the point of view, however, that the true influence of a nation upon civilization is derived from the greatest development of its own character and civilization ; that quality is more important than quantity, and height of character than breadth of territory, all this is a mistake. So far as letting loose the adventurous quality in the American people, there is nothing in the Philippines that cannot be supplied in our western states. There is every opportunity there for the pioneer spirit, without the necessity of the warlike spirit, to develop the possibilities of our western territory by diversification of our industries. To lift the industrial and civic life and political morality of the southern states to the plane of the rest of the nation would add more to the power of the United States as an influence in world civilization than would the conquest by military force of the whole Orient.

SOUTH AMERICA: A Geographical Reader. By Frank G. Carpenter. Cloth, 12mo, 352 pp. Illustrated. 60 cents. American Book Company, New York, Cincinnati and Chicago.

This is a school text-book for young pupils; or, if

not strictly a text-book, is at least intended for supplementary use in some of the regular courses in primary and intermediate schools. It is true to the newer idea in educational methods for this class of subjects, in that it uses the medium of travel and story. It describes an imaginary trip of a teacher and class throughout the continent of South America; beginning at the Isthmus of Panama, going down the west coast, thence across to the Rio de la Plata, along the Brazilian coast, up the valley of the Amazon and thence across to the Guianas and Venezuela.

One feature it seems to us would have improved this book; it might have presented some brief suggestions of historical data in connection with the purely descriptive matter concerning each country visited. Interesting cities and monuments and notable scenery might, in the most natural way, have been connected with the history of the people, thus gaining all the educational value of association. It is an interesting little book, profusely illustrated, and well adapted to hold the interest of young scholars while impressing a great deal of important information.

NEW BOOKS OF INTEREST

ECONOMIC AND SOCIOLOGICAL

Trusts or Competition. By A. B. Nettleton, A.M., former Assistant Secretary of the Treasury. Cloth, \$1.00, paper 50 cents, 304 pp. Leon Publishing Co., Chicago. A collection of essays and addresses by professors of political economy and others, and additional matter by the author; presenting both sides of the question in business, law and politics.

The Regeneration of the United States: A Forecast of its Industrial Evolution. By William Morton Grinnell. 12mo, 145 pp. \$1.00. G. P. Putnam's Sons,

New York. This volume is in Putnam's "Questions of the Day" series.

Economics and Industrial History for Secondary Schools. By Henry W. Thurston. 12mo, 300 pp. \$1.00. Scott, Foresman & Company, Chicago, Ill. The field for economic instruction in secondary schools is as yet practically undeveloped, compared with what might be done. The above volume, therefore, is at least in line with one of the needs of the times.

The Criminal; His Personnel and Environment: A Scientific Study. By August Drähms, Resident Chaplain, State Prison, San Quentin, California. With introduction by Cesare Lombroso, of the University de Torino, Italy. Cloth, 402 pp. \$2.00. The Macmillan Company, New York and London.

HISTORICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL

The Puritan Republic of the Massachusetts Bay in New England. By Daniel Wait Howe. 8vo, 422 pp. Gilt tops, \$3.50. Bowen-Merrill Company, Indianapolis, Ind.

The American Revolution. By William E. H. Lecky, M. P. Cloth, 12mo, \$1.25. D. Appleton & Company, New York. This volume contains the chapters relating to America, taken from Mr. Lecky's "History of England in the Eighteenth Century."

Bismarck and the New German Empire. How It Arose and What It Displaced. By J. W. Headlam, M. A., Fellow of King's College. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. This is No. 25 in Putnam's "Heroes of the Nations" series.

Alexander the Great. By Benjamin Ide Wheeler, President University of California. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. This is the biography which appeared serially last year in the *Century Magazine*. It is now included in "Heroes of the Nations" series.

FROM MARCH MAGAZINES

“There are many good people who find it difficult to keep in mind the obvious fact that, while extremists are sometimes men who are in advance of their age, more often they are men who are not in advance at all, but simply to one side or the other of a great movement, or even lagging behind it, or trying to pilot it in the wrong direction.”—HON. THEODORE ROOSEVELT, in “Oliver Cromwell;” *Scribners*.

Except for Great Britain's countenance, we should almost certainly never have got the Philippines; except for her continued support our hold upon them would be likely to prove precarious, perhaps altogether unstable. It follows that we now find ourselves actually caught in an entangling alliance, forced there not by any treaty, or compact of any sort, formal or informal, but by the stress of the inexorable facts of the situation.”—HON RICHARD OLNEY, in “Growth of Our Foreign Policy;” *The Atlantic Monthly*.

“The days of placidly relying on our prestige have passed; we have educated the natives; we have spoiled them to a great extent; we have given them a freedom which they neither understood nor appreciated, and they do not thank us for it, no matter what the official reports may say. Were a great conflict to take place between England and the ever-advancing Russia, I much doubt whether we could rely on our Indian subjects to stand *en masse* by us.”—A. H. SAVAGE LANDOR, in “Chief Causes of Discontent in India;” *North American Review*.

“They must learn to depend on themselves, to become men; and they must learn that hardest lesson of

all,—that a man's freedom consists in binding himself. Still again, they must learn these things at an age when the average boy has an ill-seasoned body, a half-trained mind, jarred nerves, his first large sum of money, all manner of diverting temptations, and a profound sense of his own importance. How can they be taken down, and not taken down too much,—thrown, and not thrown too hard? How can they be taught the responsibility of freedom?"—L. B. R. BRIGGS, in "The Transition from School to College;" *The Atlantic Monthly*.

"There are some who think that the Boer community has a right to complete control of its own territory, and to be as uncivilized or as tyrannical as it may choose. But this is an error. There is an international right corresponding to the right of eminent domain. All rights are enjoyed either by nations or by individuals on the tacit understanding that they be exercised with due consideration for the rights of neighbors and of the greater public. The Boers are attempting to arrest the march of civilization, to hamper industry, and to retard education. England is fighting the battle of civilization."—GEORGE F. BECKER, in "A Battle of Civilization;" *The Forum*.

"Dealings with Mohammedans sooner or later bring one into contact with their essential peculiarity. They cannot avoid regarding others from a religious standpoint; and they cannot set aside permanently the fact that God has commanded them to subjugate or exterminate all who refuse to believe in Mohammed. This Divine command shapes their conduct toward aliens, even when they themselves would like to forget it. It classes all of alien faith as Blasphemers; and this fact once being fixed, inquiry as to minor detail is needless in their eyes. A Blasphemer (kiafir or gioaur) is a Blasphemer. Wherefore ask whether he be American or Spaniard?"—HENRY O. DWIGHT, in "Mohammedan Peculiarities;" *The Forum*.





DAVID STARR JORDAN, LL.D.
President Leland Stanford Jr. University

GUNTON'S MAGAZINE

REVIEW OF THE MONTH

Admiral Dewey in Politics

Admiral Dewey has certainly startled the political community, but does not seem to have seriously disturbed it. His announcement of April 3rd that he would "be only too willing to serve the American people as president" sent a chill of disappointment throughout the country. To this was added amazement by the Admiral's declaration that "the office of the president is not such a very difficult one to fill, his duties being mainly to execute the laws of congress," and hesitancy in declaring even the general trend of his political preferences. Finally he declared himself a democrat, but added that he had never voted in his life and that the only man he ever wanted to vote for was Mr. Cleveland.

Except on the question of expansion his views on all public questions are still absolutely unknown, and he seems destined to learn by hard experience that under advanced democratic government the people are more deeply interested in the principles and issues at stake than in the personality of a candidate who stands for no principle, even though in other respects he may be a popular hero. It is sincerely to be hoped that he will withdraw from the field before being forced to endure the humiliation of overwhelming defeat in the democratic convention, or, if nominated on a third ticket, of failure at the polls in November. If he goes through the campaign and comes out a soured and dis-

appointed cynic, it will be a sad case of having thrown away real fame for the bauble of temporary popularity, and lost both.

**Porto Rican
Tariff Law**

Next to the gold standard measure, the most important work of congress is the system of tariff taxation and local government adopted for Porto Rico: (The bill finally returns to the short spelling.) A tariff on imports from Porto Rico to the United States and imports into Porto Rico from the United States, equal to 15 per cent. of the Dingley law rates, was adopted by the senate on April 3d, by a vote of 40 to 31 and the house on April 11th by a vote of 161 to 153. So much adverse sentiment has been worked up over this measure that it bids fair to injure the administration in the coming campaign. But time will justify it as an act of wise statesmanship. It really imposes no appreciable burden on Porto Rico, inasmuch as their principal export to this country is sugar, which is one of the commodities on which the American consumer and not the importer pays and always has had to pay practically the full amount of the tariff. Not only will the reduced tariff on sugar not be a burden on Porto Rico, but they will receive a net advantage over all competitors of 85 per cent. of the present tariff, which they never before possessed. Moreover, all the tariff duties collected will be refunded to the island and used for its internal improvement, which is far more important to its development than offering a clear gratuity to its sugar cane growers. The benefits of our entire tariff system against other countries are extended to Porto Rico, and in addition a 5 per cent. duty is imposed on coffee imported into the island from any of its West Indian or South American competitors, while it may send its own coffee into the United States free.

**The
Vital Point**

The new measure confirms our right to govern these island possessions as may be necessary to prevent them from endangering our own institutions, prosperity and standard of living. If this had not been done, the argument for "extending the constitution" uniformly to the Philippines would have been all but irresistible. Many who favored free trade with Porto Rico argued, with singular lack of logic, that of course we would not be bound to do the same by the Philippines. On the contrary, if their legal point as to the constitution was well taken we would be absolutely bound to do the same in the Philippines, while morally the claim of the Philippines for free trade and right of free immigration into this country would be even stronger, for obvious reasons. Porto Rico was willing to be annexed to this country, which implies that she recognized the great advantage to her. That justifies us in declaring that if we assume the responsibility of annexation we must at least save ourselves from harm therefrom. But we are taking the Philippines by force, against the will of the natives. When we conquer, we shall proceed to shut them out by a tariff and no-immigration policy. Then of course it will be pointed out in great detail how we first rob them of their country and next exploit them by a tariff and even forbid them to come and live in the United States! No mistake, we shall have another hard fight on when we come to the Philippine question, and it is a vast gain to have reasserted in advance the power of congress to withhold the constitution from newly-acquired possessions unfitted to enjoy its privileges.

**Plan of
Government for
Porto Rico**

The Porto Rican tariff law also included a system of government, providing for a governor, an executive council of eleven members, five of whom must be Porto Ricans, and a

house of delegates of thirty-five members to be elected every two years. The governor and members of the executive council are to be appointed by the president of the United States with the consent of the senate, and all laws of the Porto Rican legislature may be repealed by the United States congress. A judiciary system is established, the judges for the island to be appointed by the president with the consent of the senate, and local district judges by the governor with the consent of the executive council. All citizens of Porto Rico who have been residents one year are entitled to vote, but a property qualification is required for members of the house of delegates.

The really important thing in Porto Rico for several years to come is the matter of franchises for industrial and railway enterprises. There will be a flood of applications for such franchises, and the power of granting them is reserved absolutely to the executive council and the governor, subject only to annulment by the United States congress,—a remote contingency. It is not fair to say that this makes carpet-bag rule and favoritism certain, but it offers the very greatest temptations and opportunities in that line that any conceivable arrangement could afford. The only way to avoid this sort of a regime is, first, to allow a majority of natives in the executive council, leaving the governor with the veto power; second, to prescribe by law in advance the conditions on which all grants and franchises shall be given, requiring proper compensation to the government and specifying the conditions of service, etc., to be complied with. These matters ought not to be left to the discretion of a board of American politicians, even though they all might endeavor to act with the disinterested patriotism that seems assured in the governor's office at least by the appointment of Charles H. Allen, now assistant secretary of the navy.

To grant full discretion is to subject the governor and council to a variety and intensity of pressure from all quarters that cannot fail to hamper their efforts for good government.

**The Kentucky
Contest**

Most fortunately for the cause of law and order, the Kentucky embroilment is going through the process of peaceful legal adjustment. Both parties agreed, in the latter part of February, to submit the matter to the courts. Both the circuit court and the court of appeals of Kentucky have decided that the legislature's action in seating Goebel was regular, in view of the provisions of the Goebel law. The case will be carried to the United States supreme court, which may refuse to consider it, but if it does consider it the decision may, not improbably, be the same. The real complaint is against the infamous law itself, which allows the legislature to overthrow the returns of the election boards. This having been made the law of Kentucky, however, it was possible legally to carry it out in Goebel's favor. The only final and sure remedy will lie in an appeal to the people to elect a legislature which will abolish the Goebel law. Such being the case, it now looks as if it would have been better if Governor Taylor had submitted to the outrage under protest and relied on the moral strength of his attitude for a new attack on the real source of the whole abomination.

Governor Taylor's position will be strengthened anyway by the farcical proceedings instituted by his political enemies in the effort to prove him an instigator of Goebel's murder. The character of the evidence submitted in this investigation, and the petty persecution in arresting several republican state officials on this same murder charge, when their freedom was important in the larger struggle they were carrying on,

shows that the proceeding is backed far more by political animus than any genuine desire to find the murderer.

**Corporations
in Trouble**

This decline of popular anxiety on the "trust" question is hastened by the object-lessons we are having of the results of un-economic combination. Some of the penalties of over-capitalization and speculative management are already showing themselves. They are more effective correctives than all the legislation restraining capital that has ever been enacted. The American Malting Company has incurred a deficit of \$1,300,000 by virtue of having declared a dividend twice as large as the earnings for the year ultimately warranted. The Flour Milling Company, which was largely a speculative organization, has passed into receivership, while trouble is reported from the various brewery consolidations, indicating that the next movement may be the breaking up of some of the large concerns. Most conspicuous of all, perhaps, is the action of the American Sugar Refining Company in reducing its dividend one-half by reason of the slash into its profits made by fierce competition with the Arbuckles and others within the last few years. Since 1893 this company has been paying 12% dividends, but for the first quarter of 1900 this has been reduced to a 6% basis. Naturally a considerable drop in sugar stock followed, together with heavy sales. One year ago, on March 4, 1899, sugar stock was quoted at 138 $\frac{3}{8}$; on March 5th, 1900, the day of the reduced dividend, the stock sold at 99 $\frac{1}{2}$. At present, the market quotations on granulated sugar are 5.15 cents by the American, 5 cents by the Arbuckles.

**Downfall of
Third Avenue
Railway**

The collapse of the Third Avenue Railway Company in New York was fairly staggering, not only because of the great interests involved but in the suspicious circum-

stances surrounding it. One year ago the stock of this company was worth 243; within the twelve months it dropped to 51, and on February 28th Mr. Hugh J. Grant was appointed receiver of the road, which appointment was made permanent on March 16th. The receiver's report to the court, submitted on March 14th, showed an astonishing state of affairs. In addition to the total funded debt, amounting with interest to more than \$5,000,000, there was an unfunded debt of about \$7,250,000, secured by collateral, and an unsecured floating debt of nearly \$12,500,000. Moreover, improvements and extensions had been undertaken which would cost upwards of \$10,000,000 more. There were claims for personal injuries, not yet adjusted, amounting to more than \$10,000,000. Not only this, but the roads operated by the Third Avenue Company showed liabilities and claims of more than \$30,000,000 and assets only of \$5,680,000.

How it was possible to have ever borrowed such sums of money without security and expended it for so little is almost inexplicable, except on the theory of either deliberate fraud with a political background or grossly incompetent management. Probably there was a combination of both influences, and the grand jury is expected to go into the case. In the substitution of underground electricity for the cable, upwards of \$10,000,000 was spent with such reckless and wasteful management that attention was called to it over and over again by such men as John D. Crimmins, without result. Much of the trouble is charged to the habit of Vice-President Hart of buying up immense holdings of Third Avenue stock and trying to keep up the market quotations by borrowing money for the company's new extension expenses, instead of issuing bonds, which would have revealed the growing indebtedness. This policy was sure to require, sooner

or later, the throwing of large amounts of this stock on the market, thus precipitating a decline, which is exactly what happened. Perhaps it come none too soon to reveal the true condition of affairs.

**A Fortunate
Outcome**

Most fortunately for the public's interest, the road has passed under the control of the Metropolitan Street Railway Company, which, by extremely able management, has become probably the finest and the most efficient city railway property in the country. The announcement that the Metropolitan had purchased a controlling interest in Third Avenue stock was made on March 18th, and at once the stock went up to a liberal margin over par. Large economies will be inaugurated, chiefly by using the Metropolitan's great new power house at 96th Street to operate both systems. This will also save the expenditure of several million dollars for new power houses, which the Third Avenue system badly needed. Transfers will be given between the two systems, which means practically a wholesale reduction of fares, and gives the public a gain which no amount of competition between the two lines would ever have yielded.

All this experience illustrates in a new way the truth of two very commonplace but savagely denied economic propositions; first, that profit-making is not a matter simply of natural or monopolistic opportunities, but that, even in a situation where profits seem so certain and easy as in a New York street railway enterprise, skill and capacity make all the difference between success and bankruptcy; second, that when competition has reached a certain point the only further gain the public can possibly obtain, in cheaper and better service, comes through the economy and uniformity made possible by combination. The fortunate outcome in this case, however, ought not to head off the investigation into the Third Avenue's management.

**New
Carnegie
Corporation**

Equally satisfactory is the settlement of the Frick-Carnegie controversy, which promised to involve vast properties in a long and vexatious litigation. These interests had been administered for some years in the form of a partnership under the direction of Mr. H. C. Frick as chairman of the managing board. Each partner was bound by an "iron-clad agreement" to sell out his interests to the company (virtually to Mr. Carnegie) on demand. Late in 1899 some disagreement arose and in December Mr. Frick's resignation was requested, and given.

It was claimed by Frick that his interest in the business (amounting to 6 per cent.) was worth upwards of \$16,000,000, whereas he would only get about \$6,000,000 if forced out by Carnegie under the iron-clad agreement. This was made a basis of an action, commenced on February 13th, to which the Carnegie Steel Company filed a reply on March 12th, alleging that only a very small proportion of the value of Frick's holdings was ever actually paid for, but that nearly all of the \$6,000,000 the company was willing to allow represented pure profit from the business.

The new president of the company, Charles M. Schwab, worked incessantly to bring about a settlement, and finally proposed a plan that was accepted by all parties. All the Carnegie, Frick and associated interests were merged into a regular stock corporation, "The Carnegie Company," with a capital of \$160,000,000, the whole of which was subscribed on the spot by those already interested. The new company was incorporated in New Jersey on March 24th and the shares fixed at \$1,000 each. Of these Mr. Frick received 15,484, thus gaining practically all he had contended for, while Mr. Carnegie retained the controlling interest by subscribing for 86,379 shares. The two other large holdings are those of Henry Phipps (17,226 shares) and

President Charles M. Schwab (18,929 shares). It is said that bonds to the amount of \$160,000,000 are to be issued, thus duplicating the capital stock; and large extensions of the plant will be made. This of course ends the control of the business as a personal enterprise, and abolishes all "iron-clad agreements." The new company is the largest, and, judging from the profits of \$21,000,000 made in 1899, the most profitable iron and steel manufacturing concern in the world.

**Croton
Reservoir
Strike**

The most acute labor disturbance of the season has suddenly arisen on the great work in progress for the city of New York at the Croton reservoir, in the northern part of Westchester county. A new dam is being constructed, which will largely increase the capacity of the reservoir. On this work about 700 Italians have been employed, common laborers receiving \$1.25 a day, minus deductions for medical service whether required or not. Board and lodging in the vicinity are said to cost from \$14 to \$18 per month, and, since a great deal of time is lost by rainy weather, the men have had great difficulty in living on their earnings. About 10 per cent. of the laborers organized a strike early in April, and the whole 700 left work. Armed with guns and pistols, they promised to do violence upon any substitutes that might be brought in. The sheriff of the county and his deputies could not suppress the violent demonstrations and finally the state militia was ordered out, to the extent of several near-by companies, and the seventh regiment from New York city. On the night of April 16th one of the soldiers was shot and killed, presumably by a striker, although the leaders disavow and deplore the act.

The Italian consul-general at New York, Giovanni Branchi, has been trying to settle the trouble, and de-

clares that the men would accept a compromise on \$1.37½ a day for 120 of the laborers, which would only cost the contractors \$15 a day additional. On April 18th the contractors did, in fact, offer to raise the wages of 80 hand-drillers from \$1.30 to \$1.50, but refused to raise the rate for common labor, claiming that it would have to be given to all if to any, and that they could not fulfil their contract under the increased expense. But if the consul-general is right, and the men will all go back if 12½ cents extra is granted to 120 of them, the contractors ought not to expect any public sympathy if they refuse. They have no moral right to put the public to the great expense of keeping a large body of troops on the ground when so small a concession would solve the difficulty.

**The Root
of the
Trouble**

On the other hand, the root of the whole trouble is not with the contractors, but lies in the inexcusable neglect of congress to stop the immigration of this low grade of labor. By allowing them to come in without limit we practically invite contractors to hire them on the cheapest possible terms. When the usual effort is made to beat down and get the advantage of ignorant laborers, and they finally break out into a violent revolt, we proceed to send soldiers to suppress them by force, perhaps with loss of life on both sides. Strikes among this grade of laborers, when they do occur, are always of a vicious and dangerous nature, and for the public safety, to say nothing of common justice to the immigrant laborers already here, any further influx should be prohibited. Contractors would then be obliged to choose a higher grade of help, and if this meant largely increased expense it would force the use of new kinds of labor-saving machinery, thus removing some of the more degrading features of rough physical labor. Further-

more, if contractors were not able to go to the barge office and fill strikers' places indefinitely, the laborers might be able to maintain a decent scale of wages without having to stake their cause periodically on violence and intimidation.

**Rapid Transit
in New York**

At last the metropolis is assured of a rapid transit underground railway. The successful bidder for the contract, John B. McDonald, succeeded after considerable delay in furnishing the required securities, and ground was broken in City Hall Park on Saturday afternoon March 24th. The park was lavishly decorated with flags and streamers, a great throng was present, and Mayor Van Wyck removed the first spadeful of earth. Congratulatory addresses were made by the mayor, Controller Coler, and Alexander E. Orr, president of the rapid transit commission. Actual work began the following Monday morning, and the contractor believes he will have the tunnel finished in three years, although he is allowed four and a half. It is to cost \$35,000,000, and be large enough for a four-track railway, from the city hall to the upper side of Manhattan Island, thence branching off and terminating at two points in the Bronx Borough. A time schedule of fifteen minutes to Harlem is promised. The commission was authorized to spend \$50,000,000, and thus has \$15,000,000 left, which it expects to devote to a tunnel from the city hall down Broadway and under the river to Brooklyn.

This can hardly be called an experiment in municipal ownership. For the city to construct a tunnel is practically the same thing as to open and maintain public streets. Probably the railroad in the tunnel will be operated by a private corporation under contract with the city. Such an arrangement can be made to yield large returns to the municipality besides

giving the best service to the public, perhaps with transfers to surface lines.

The whole work will be under the supervision of trained inspectors employed by the rapid transit commission and selected by civil service examinations. The board will also issue all necessary permits for the opening of streets, etc. This removes some very important powers from the hands of Tammany Hall, and encourages the belief that the giant enterprise will not be turned into a political job.

**Death of
General
Joubert**

Following so soon after the surrender of General Cronje, the death of General Petrus Jacobus Joubert, which occurred at Pretoria on March 27th, from disease, was an exceptionally severe blow to the Transvaal cause. He was confessedly a broad-minded, patriotic and liberal statesman, by long odds the best man the Boers had. If Joubert's ideas could have prevailed an entirely different policy would have been adopted towards the "Uitlanders," but, once the fight was on, he took the field and planned some masterly campaigns,—a case strikingly parallel with that of Robert E. Lee, the great heroic figure of the southern confederacy. The high character, integrity and the liberal spirit of General Joubert were recognized not merely by his own countrymen but by the world. English generals, statesmen and journals were among the first to express sincere admiration and appreciation of so worthy a foe. It is understood that General Louis Botha has succeeded Joubert in command, although President Kruger himself is now assuming a more active direction of the Boer tactics.

**The Delagoa
Bay Award**

Interjected into the midst of the South African war comes the long delayed decision of the arbitrators in the famous case of the Delagoa Bay Railway, in Portuguese East

Africa. The outcome was important to the Boers, since if a heavy award against Portugal had been granted it might have forced the turning over of the port of Lorenzo Marquez into English hands, whereas for years this port has served as the Transvaal's principal means of importing munitions of war. The final award in favor of the English and American claimants is only about \$4,250,000, while it was expected to be fully twice that amount; and loans sufficient to pay the judgment have been offered to Portugal from several sources.

The claims grew out of the action of the Portuguese government in confiscating the Delagoa Bay Railway, which was built by Edward McMurdo, an American engineer, mostly with English capital. The original concession was granted to McMurdo in 1883, but, largely through the influence of the Transvaal government, it was afterward surrounded with impossible conditions, and because these could not be fulfilled the road was taken over by the government and the owners deprived of all rights in the situation. The British and United States governments protested, and finally the matter was submitted to arbitrators in 1891. McMurdo is long since dead, but it is doubtful if the award just granted will cover the actual amount expended on the road by the claimants, to say nothing of the value of the concession itself, now estimated at \$30,000,000. The result is highly unsatisfactory and will injure the cause of arbitration itself. President Kruger certainly cannot complain that the judges were under British influence, since the decision leaves the port and railway in the hands of Portugal as before and so continues their neutral character.

A Lull in
South Africa

Little has been accomplished during the past month on either side, although there has been a marked revival of Boer activity. Clearly, President Kruger realized the necessity

of vigorous action to keep the burghers together, after such a series of calamities as the relief of Kimberly and Ladysmith, surrender of Cronje, loss of Bloemfontein and death of General Joubert. Relief columns under Lord Methuen from the south and Colonel Plumer, coming down from Rhodesia on the north, have been working toward Mafeking, but time and again they have been beaten back, while the investment of the little town becomes closer than ever. It is really a point of small tactical advantage, but the sentimental effect of a capture on the one hand or relief on the other would be considerable. How the garrison is to hold out much longer on half rations is a mystery, especially since there seems to be no prospect that Lord Roberts can spare any more detachments for side expeditions.

The commander-in-chief has been remaining quietly in Bloemfontein, getting supplies and preparing for the advance on Pretoria, but the Boers have not left him in peace. They have established headquarters at Kroonstadt, on the Pretoria railway line in the northern part of the Orange Free State, and are operating with small detachments all around Bloemfontein, along the border of Basutoland, and almost as far south as Cape Colony. General Brabant, who was operating in the southern part of the Free State, was surrounded at Wepener early in April and has been holding out against odds ever since.

**Some Boer
Successes**

Several disasters have overtaken the British, through the incessant activity of relatively small expeditions and skirmishing parties of Boers, harrassing the outskirts of Lord Roberts' great army. On April 1st two batteries of horse artillery under Col. Broadwood, while retiring from the waterworks twenty miles east of Bloemfontein, were

surrounded in ambush and lost seven guns together with about 250 men, 200 of whom were reported "missing," which probably means captured.

Again, on April 3rd, three companies of Royal Irish Fusiliers and two companies of mounted infantry, who were out collecting arms from free state burghers, were surrounded near Bloemfontein. Although they held out most gallantly until 9 o'clock the next morning, the odds were too great and the whole three companies were finally taken prisoners, only forty of the whole number remaining unwounded. General Gatacre was ordered to their relief as soon as word came of the disaster, but he arrived too late and failed to pursue promptly. Whether for this or for causes not made public, Gatacre has since been ordered home and his place taken by General Chermiside, who has been with Roberts at Bloemfontein.

In other engagements, to the south of Bloemfontein, the British have lost several hundred killed and captured, but nothing of a decisive nature has taken place. There has been nothing in these encounters to indicate that the Boer strength is a really serious menace to the British position or line of supplies. According to the last reports, these desultory tactics are being abandoned and the burghers are withdrawing to the north, with the evident intention of concentrating to meet the British advance now believed to be imminent.

General Buller's army still remains in northern Natal. Since the publication of Lord Roberts' severe criticisms on the Spion Kop blunder, it seems hardly possible that Buller will be retained for further active service. It would be singular policy for the British war department to make public such strictures and so destroy the confidence of his troops if it planned to entrust General Buller with another important forward movement.

THE CONTROL OF THE TROPICS

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The history of man in the equatorial parts of the earth has been very different from that made in the temperate zones of the North. In the cool regions man has lived by the sweat of his brow, under the stress of unsatisfied aspirations, the strong trained in strength by the conquest of the elements, the race-blood purified by the early death of the unfit. In general, fitness to win in the struggle of life has meant fitness for action, capacity for exercise of wisdom, virtue and sympathy. In the long run the result of the struggle for life has been the survival of those possessing the traits which enable men to struggle together. The qualities which make institutions and on which civilization rests have become the hereditary race traits of all northern peoples. And these races have nowhere, on their own ground, become degenerate save after the extermination of their best elements, as the ultimate effect of continued successful or unsuccessful war.

The conditions of life in the tropics reverse much of this. These regions are most favorable to vegetable life. Foodstuffs are to be had for the taking. To be well fed is not conditioned on effort of any kind.

Moreover, activity either physical or mental is in itself dangerous. It is the enterprising, the resolute, the daring who is soonest destroyed by sunstroke or miasma. The children of the strong cannot grow to maturity under a vertical sun. While tropical conditions vary much in degree, this is true of them all as a whole. Nature is lavish in wealth of animal and vegetable life. Man is a creature of the present, careless of the future, without incentives to economy and industry, the prey of small vices, untroubled by questions of abstract right or equity and generally incapable of forming institutions far-reaching in their scope and resting on a basis of theoretical justice. More obviously, the natives of the tropics are paupers in a land of wealth, squalid in a land of comfort, and the whole condition seems to represent a vast economic waste. Moreover, natives of other regions removed to the tropics become more or less like the tropical people themselves. In this fact we recognize two elements, personal degeneration due to vice and the loss of high incentives, and race degeneration due to the death of the active child or man.

The control of the tropics in the interest of industrial development and in the interest of better manners, cleaner morals and nobler religion constitutes the essence of what Kipling calls "The White Man's Burden." This is the supposed justification of Great Britain's presence in India, of our jurisdiction in the Philippines and of tropical colonialism in general. We must sharply distinguish colonialism from actual colonization such as takes place in temperate regions. The settlement of Canada, New Zealand, Australia, Tasmania, is a real expansion of England, a growth of Anglo-Saxon empire in every respect noble, worthy and permanent. The French "colonization" of Madagascar, the Dutch colonization of Java or the British hold on India is something wholly different.

The control of the tropics has passed through a number of stages. It was at first a result of the search for spices and perfumes, luxuries demanded by the higher classes of Europe which their own lands did not yield and which furnished an incentive to adventure. Later came the demand for gold, tea, coffee, sugar, rubber, lumber, slaves, the call for volume of trade, the requirement of means of investment, for money, the need of public offices for the overflow of younger sons, and finally the desire to spread the higher elements of civilization and Christianity. The methods of control have been as diverse as the results desired. The most prominent may be grouped under four classes: *Slavery*, *Imperialism*, *Democratic Federation*, *Permeation*.

1. *Slavery*. Slavery is the subordination of the will of one man to that of another. The slaveholder is the representative of a higher race, the strong, the virtuous, the Christian. The slave is taken from barbarism and filth, brought into new and better relations, made clean, industrious and effective. For the worship of devils and fetiches is substituted the religion of civilized men, and these civilized men in turn live in prosperity through the wisely-directed labor of many slaves.

This is the fair side of slavery. Not long since it was the only side seen to most men. But broader experience showed the darker face. We see now that the system cursed the slave, destroying his manhood and his power of initiative, at last degrading his race through the elimination of those brave souls who chose death rather than servitude. The system cursed the master not less, by developing the spirit of domination, by destroying the feeling of equity and of brotherly love among men. It is opposed to the forces that make for progress, to the demands of justice and to the spirit of democracy. "If slavery is not wrong," said Lincoln, "then there is nothing wrong."

2. *Imperialism.* Since slavery passed away, imperialism in one form or another has become its accepted substitute in the control of the tropics. In general, the essence of imperialism is non-delegated power. It is the divine right of kings applied to races and their rulers. Practically, imperialism means the control of a weak race by a strong one in the interest of the industrial development of the weak race and the commercial advantage of the strong. Imperialism or collective slavery has the same fair side that chattel slavery or individual imperialism has. It makes for order, cleanliness, thrift, commerce, luxury, Christianity. It is less subject to abuse than personal slavery. The public master is never so good as the best private master though never so bad as the worst. The final results are the same, the degradation of those races who have been cared for by its paternalism, the destruction of initiative, the loss of the spirit of freedom. The rulers themselves suffer as a body the same ills which affect the individual slaveholder and this in proportion to the degree in which they actually rule. The spirit of arrogance, the feeling of caste, the growth of militarism, the "divine right" to seize the possessions of weaker races, are characteristics of imperialism. Slavery under either form is still the "black demon breeding drouth and dearth of human sympathy," so familiar to us in the struggles of the last generation. "Great Britain," says Goldwin Smith, "has deserved and won the respect of the Hindu but she has never won and is now less likely than ever to win his love. Lord Elgin sorrowfully observes that there is more of a bond between man and dog than between Englishman and Hindu." So it is ever in the relation of master and slave, whether on a large scale or a small one. It is said that the increasing famines in India are largely due to the loss of all the native

forms of industry, their home-taught spinning and weaving and work in metal. The tendency of outside mastery is to make of all men unskilled laborers alike.

The control of subject races under imperialism has shown many forms. It may be systematic exploitation scarcely distinct from slavery; it may take the form of indentured labor without which, it is claimed, most tropical plantations are unworkable; it may be the subsidy of petty despots; it may be rule by bare military force; it may consist in absolute extermination or again it may represent any one of various stages in freedom or self-government. It may again be paternalism, pure and simple, the rule of a wise man under no orders save those given to Sancho Panza "to fear God and do your duty." In its best form this system has shown wonderful results but again it is hard to establish and its effects show little permanence.

I do not believe that the results of imperial control in the tropics indicate a final solution of the problem or constitute anything more than a passing phase in history.

When a race is held in its place by force, the people who are held and the people who hold them suffer alike from the unnatural relation. It must finally end in independence or federation or extermination. Therefore we may safely paraphrase Lincoln's words: "If imperialism is not wrong, nothing in government is wrong," though as a temporary stepping stone toward something else it may have a recognized place.

3. *Federated Democracy.* A third form of control may be that under democracy. It would consist in the application to the tropics of the twin principles of equality before the law and of delegated power, which have been the corner-stones of human progress in the temperate zone.

Self-government on the basis of personal freedom has never grown up spontaneously in the tropics. All tropical republics have been oligarchies: all rulers have been dictators. The powers they have assumed have been delegated through tacit consent, the consent of hero-worship, of fear or of indifference, not through the explicit authority of a bill of rights. The weak, lawless, turbulent republics have reflected the character of the people who compose them. We in America are about to try this new solution of the great question,—the control of the tropics through the federation of the weak peoples with the strong. This now is our problem. If the people of the North set the pace, can the people of the tropics keep step with it at least to such a degree as not to imperil the peace and civilization we have already attained?

As to this, most experts of Europe say no. "Any attempt to govern the tropical possessions of the United States on democratic principles," says Alleyne Ireland, "is doomed to certain failure. . . . We look in vain for a single instance within the tropics of a well-governed country."

But this fact does not settle the matter. The experiment has never had a fair trial, and this we have now resolved to give. Nor is it altogether hopeless. Certainly each of our states is stronger in the union than it would be if standing alone. This is even more true of the weak than of the strong. Certainly Porto Rico as a territory of the United States, with full equality before the law and with full guarantee against despotism, can do some things which Porto Rico as an independent nation could not accomplish. The prospect in the Philippines may stagger us somewhat, but if we undertake the control of the tropics in the Orient we can only operate along the lines of our own governmental methods. We must recognize men as

men, whatever their race, color or location, and each part of our country must share and share alike in all our powers, endeavors, hopes or advantages. We may doubt the outcome but we must not flinch from the conditions. If control of the tropics be ever made safe, helpful and permanent, federation under democracy is surely a hopeful method. It must rest on "consent of the governed," and by consent we must mean not formal vote but willing participation. If we have made the plunge then we should not hesitate for a moment as to the rest of our duty. Whatever possessions the United States may hold must be part of the United States, territories, states in time, and their people full citizens, "mere citizens," the only kind of citizens that we know. If we cannot grant this, let them go. Equality or separation, there can be no other alternative under our constitution, or under the eternal justice upon which the constitution rests.

If our nation ever really expands beyond its continental boundaries its strength abroad as at home must lie in the hearts of its citizens. If the country of the Filipinos is ours then our country is theirs. If they come to know our country as we know it then may they love it as we love it.

Alone of all the great nations of the world, America has a recognized theory of government. Government by the people places manhood above order, the development of individual character above the technicalities of good administration. This looks not to the smooth ordering of affairs of to-day but to the ultimate growth of the future. Great Britain has never had a theory of human rights and duties and in her political affairs she lives from hand to mouth. Her conservatism is tradition. Her radicalism is opportunism. One problem she solves in one way and another in another; one is forgotten, one dissolves in commercialism, another

erupts in war. Under the same flag is the despotism of the Straits Settlements, the perfect democracy of New Zealand, the slaughter of the Transvaal. It floats over a Gordon, a Rajah Brooke, a Kitchener, and a Cecil Rhodes and the same flag befits them all alike. What in the long centuries will come of it all, no man can foretell, save that the conditions we know at any one time can never be permanent.

Not so with the Republic of America. "How long will the United States endure?" asked Guizot of James Russell Lowell. "So long as the ideas of her founders remain dominant."

In our control of the tropics, short though it has been, we have made blunders of the deepest kind, blunders due to ignorance, indifference, inaction and especially to the assumption that order is a matter of swords and muskets alone.

I believe that a saner policy is now possible. I trust that we may regain our lost ground. A great hope lies in the present Philippine Commission, composed of men wise, just and sympathetic. They will surely do all that men can do to restore peace and goodwill to our wretched brethren of the East. They go forth not to "do politics" but to clear away the debris of past politics, Spanish, Tagalo and American, and they deserve the heartiest support of all good citizens.

4. *Permeation.* Another solution of the control of the tropics is through independence and permeation. Let the native peoples develop their own institutions in their own way, undisturbed by outside governmental control and unimpeded by force of arms. Let their only real check be the force of superior experience and superior wisdom.

Missionaries, commerce, railways, manufactures, industrial corporations, consular offices, let these permeate the tropics. All of them make for decency,

equity, stability. They require no armies for their support. Armies bring disease, drunkenness, injustice, recrimination. The soldier cannot safely precede the missionary. Still less can he take his place. "The force of arms must be kept far from matters of the Gospel. This," said Martin Luther, "is the lesson of my life."

A good example of control through permeation is that of the "peaceful conquest of Mexico." We may rule Mexico through force of brains, a power more potent than force of arms, more worthy and more lasting. The present stability of Mexico is largely due to American influences. Every year American intelligence and American capital find better and broader openings there. In time, Mexico shall become a republic in fact as well as in name, side by side in the friendliest relation with her sister republic of broader civilization. It is not necessary that the same flag should float over both. If one be red, white and blue, let the other be green, white and red—what matter? The development of Mexico, the "awakening of a nation," is thus a legitimate form of expansion. It is not a widening of our own governmental responsibility, but a widening of our influence and an extension of republican ideas. The next century may see Mexico an American instead of a Spanish republic, and this without war, conquest or intrigue.

Permeation is cheaper than war. A single battle costs more than a hundred Christian missions. A single campaign has cost as much as the great trans-Siberian railway. We could fill all tropical countries with consular agents and commercial agents, men trained to stand for good order and to work for American interests, for less than it costs to subdue a single tropical island. Stevenson in Samoa did more for peace and property than all the warships which ever passed

his island, and this out of pure good will—the best agency in the work of civilization. And with every peaceful invasion the area of civilization and freedom is expanded. In peace, not in war, in commerce, not in force of arms, is found the key to our problem—if any solution be ever possible.

Whether the control of the tropics along any lines whatever shall be practicable and permanent no one can say. Perhaps like the grand Quivira or the fountain of eternal youth it is only a dream of the restless adventurer. History gives no record of success. She tells only of varying kinds and degrees of failure. But in each case the failure is less in proportion as the equality and humanity of man has been conceded.

But this, alas, seems certain. The tropics are stronger than we at last. They will control and swallow up whatever we put into them. As with animals and plants, so with men and institutions; the frost line of the Tropic of Cancer is the greatest barrier we know, the dead line which, for good or ill, no form of life has ever yet passed unchanged.

EXPANSION THE DOOM OF PROTECTION

Protection has been our national policy since the foundation of the republic. While it has not always been philosophically and economically applied, it has been accepted and supported by the American people as the policy of preserving and expanding our domestic industries. The protectionists, whether as federalists, whigs or republicans, were never quite so well versed in the theory of their policy as were the free traders in theirs. Indeed, protection can hardly be said to have had a logical doctrine at all. It was a policy, a kind of horse-sense policy, under which the people persisted in doing very much better than they knew. It is not until recently that protection can be said to have been reduced to anything like an economic doctrine with a scientific basis and philosophic scope.

It is not surprising, therefore, that in the absence of any clear doctrine or economic principle on the subject the narrowest views regarding it should be entertained and that local or personal interests should influence its application. These perversions, sometimes verging on favoritism, have furnished the anti-protectionists with new material for demanding free trade. Little wonder that under these conditions the anti-protectionist movement would occasionally rise to serious proportions and bring about experiments with a non-protective policy; but every experiment in this direction was followed by industrial disturbance, frequently by disastrous depressions accompanied by financial panics.

When the people change from one policy to another, it matters little what the policy is, if the change is followed by disaster they are sure to change back at the first opportunity. This is often taken to indicate

that they are intellectually converted to the other theory, which is seldom true. They eagerly return to the policy under which they were prosperous, merely because they were prosperous. The very fact that they were prosperous is to them, for the time being, the justification of the policy. Whether it is more philosophical or logical or humane or in the long run more just are not the determining qualities under such circumstances.

Despite the fact that the classic literature and scholarship, and the influence of the great universities, combined with the Jeffersonian doctrine of politics, all favored it, the free-trade doctrine made practically no permanent inroad on the convictions of the American people. The power of the teacher, however plausible, seemingly logical and profound his philosophy and broad his humanities, ultimately availeth little against the continuous concrete experience of the people.

The protective system performed a double function, it gave revenue to the state and protection to domestic industry. Down to the civil war internal taxes were unknown. The entire revenues of the country were collected from duties on imports. This fact greatly contributed to strengthen belief in the tariff policy. Advocates of free trade were forced to become the advocates of internal taxation, which is generally objectionable to the American people.

Moreover, during all this time the attention of the people has been concentrated upon domestic questions. We have had no foreign possessions, no entangling alliances with other countries. The Monroe doctrine has been our guide, we have acted upon the policy of not interfering in the affairs of other nations, nor permitting them to interfere with ours. The political issues at every presidential or state election, therefore, were domestic. They related to questions of industry, trade,

interstate commerce, finance, and policies affecting the educational, social and moral welfare of our citizens. It was the safeguarding of old and the development of new industries, the encouragement of railroad construction for the opening of our vast areas of virgin territories, the development of cities and towns and the solution of the educational, municipal and economic problems they created, that engaged the attention of the people. All the questions of public discussion and political action were confined to the domestic interests of the people.

It has been constantly urged that with protection we could have no foreign trade. Experience has destroyed the validity of that theory by showing that our foreign trade grew as our domestic industry developed. The greater our home productions the greater is our consumption of foreign goods. Not that we consume foreign goods instead of our own, but in addition to our own by way of variety. The more the people make and use, the more they are likely to buy from others. Those who make little produce little, never buy much, they are small consumers. Contrary to all the anti-protection reasoning, with the development of our domestic industries we have increased our exports to foreign countries. This means that we have gradually come to produce certain commodities cheaper than they can be produced in other countries, notwithstanding our tariff duties, which the prophets proclaimed were added to the price and handicapped American producers. During this time, with the diversification of industries, development of resources, cheapening of products, creation of cities, popular education and daily earning opportunities for the masses, we forged along at a rate witnessed nowhere else in the world. Neither plausible theories of brotherhood nor imaginary pictures of the honor, glory and gain of capturing foreign markets availed so long as the economic and political

interests of the American people were centered on developing the economic resources, adjusting the social conditions and solving the political problems of the United States.

In 1898 we made a departure. We entered upon a war with Spain to secure the right of self-government for Cuba. Our success on both land and sea has no parallel in the history of warfare. When we had driven the Spanish out of Cuba we demanded both Porto Rico and the Philippines. We were strong enough to take the one and rich enough to buy the other. This, together with the annexation of Hawaii, has introduced a new and foreign element into our national life. The entire attention of the administration and of congress has become centered on the problems of our foreign possessions. In reality, the center of our political interest is transferred from the United States to the West Indies and the islands of the Pacific.

The first question we have to settle in the Philippines is, how can we reduce this new and semi-barbarous people to the conditions of law and order and to the recognition of United States authority. They dispute our right to come and challenge our power to govern, so we are compelled to maintain a state of war, keeping a larger army in the Philippines than all the white or half-breed population of the entire islands. When we have accomplished this, which may take years, we shall have to solve the problem of how to govern these uncivilized people. This brings us face to face with conditions that have practically nothing in common with the spirit and character of American institutions. These people are poor, helpless barbarians, they have practically no sense of sustained industry or orderly civil government, no experience in representative institutions. A large majority of them go barefooted and half naked.

In dealing with these problems, which for a long time are going to be all absorbing, we have to radically depart from all the methods of democratic institutions; we have to treat these people as wards, and govern them by despotic authority. This means that the American government and congress are going to be absorbed for years to come in devising, establishing and administering arbitrary paternal government in three or four different countries outside of the United States. This despotic control of inferior races will necessarily deaden the spirit of democracy at home by familiarizing our representatives with a contempt for human rights and representative institutions. We have already begun in Porto Rico by creating there essentially a carpet-bag government, consisting of a governor and advisory council of eleven, all appointed by the president of the United States with the consent of the senate. Six of the council must be United States citizens. In view of the ignorance and poverty of the people, we may expect from this practically the same political jobbery, selling of industrial privileges and other scandalous political performances, that disgraced the carpet-bag era in the southern states. This will be another source of foreign detraction of home discussion, another force to center public interest abroad.

In addition to this we have the trade aspect of the subject. We are responsible for the economic welfare of these people. If they cannot earn a living we feel called upon to feed them, and in order to seem humane we are tempted to give them the benefit of the American market, abolishing all tariff lines and having free trade. This work has already begun. President McKinley led the sympathetic march in this direction by recommending in his message to congress that we establish free trade between Porto Rico and the United States. The excuse, defence or explanation for this

course is not on economic but humane grounds. "We must do something for these people, we have become responsible for them, we must send them capital to start their industries, we must raise money if necessary to feed their poor, we must recoup them for the losses suffered by tornado, all of which is highly philanthropic and creditable to the sympathetic character and sentiment of the American people, but it is creating a new center around which public policy will crystallize.

We can no longer discuss the tariff question in relation to Porto Rico on economic and scientific grounds. It is charity, sympathy, benevolence. The same will be true of the Philippines. This is the beginning of the substitution of sentiment for economics. Heretofore the question as to the tariff has been, how will it affect the welfare of the United States, how will it affect American industries and American prosperity? So long as the question was presented in this form, the cold logic of the free trader was impotent. No people can be held to a national policy on the strength of bloodless logic and mathematical deduction, against the sentiment of national welfare and patriotism. The world is moved by national interest, by sentiment, by questions that are warm with flesh and blood. So long as the basis of protection was the United States, the welfare of the American people, our home industrial and social improvement, it was the policy of patriotism. But let that national sentiment once be centered on foreign problems and the enthusiasm for home interests subsides. Besides the sympathy phase of this foreign problem, there is the flag glory and foreign trade aspect. We shall be told that our great industrial interests are now in foreign trade; not merely in carrying the flag to the land of barbarians but in furnishing the markets of the Orient with American products, and thus the emphasis of economic policy will be placed

upon selling goods to foreigners rather than to Americans. It will soon become magnified as a much greater accomplishment to sell a cargo of shoddy productions to Asiatics than to sell twenty times as much of superior products to American citizens. We shall have the doctrine, so familiar in England, that a nation's welfare is measured by the volume of its foreign commerce, though nothing could be more misleading. A nation's welfare and status in civilization is measured, not by its foreign sales, but by the standard of daily consumption of its average citizen. Ireland exported breadstuffs to England when her people were dying of starvation. Consumption is the source and measure of a nation's welfare.

All this is already under way. Not only has the proposition for free trade for Porto Rico been recommended by the president and fiercely discussed by congress, but so completely did the sympathy idea prevail over the economic policy that the little tariff imposed is to be given back to Porto Rico.

Senator Foraker admits, in an article in the *North American Review*, that they struggled for this skeleton protection in order to retain the principle, for fear of establishing a precedent for the Philippines, showing clearly that the whole question will have to be fought over again there. And now Brigadier-General James H. Wilson, commanding the provinces of Mantanzas and Santa Clara, Cuba, in making his report to the government, recommends that we establish free trade with Cuba. Concurrently with this, Mr. Robert P. Porter, "Special Commissioner for the United States to Cuba and Porto Rico," is publishing extensive interviews and writing articles for the magazines with all the quasi-official flavor they will carry, endeavoring to show that with our immense growth in manufactures and methods of production we are outstripping the need

of protection; that we are increasing our exports, and showing that we can compete with Great Britain and other countries in foreign markets. All this is very natural, and from their point of view is very properly backed up by the daily leading editorials in the free-trade papers of the country.

Thus it is that expansion, in forcing upon us a new and novel problem, is destined rapidly to transfer our national interests from domestic industry to government in the tropics. Under the alluring glamour of becoming a "world power," with distant possessions demanding trade concessions in foreign countries, and becoming the paternal guardians of barbarians, we have already begun to lose the grip upon our domestic interests, the very source of our national welfare. As the demands of these foreign interests increase, and our intercourse with foreign nations becomes more involved, the maintenance of our prestige abroad will soon become a national patriotic sentiment. With a sentiment for a world power and a world commerce, the road for free-trade propaganda, which has already recommenced, will be easy and inviting. Another touch of dull trade is all that is necessary to put this movement under full headway. Thus the very ideal for which free traders have so long struggled in vain is now likely to be accomplished for them by the protectionists themselves.

SHABBY SALARIES OF OUR PUBLIC OFFICIALS

ADELBERT H. STEELE

To those who have given attention to this subject it is well known that the salaries now paid to most of our public officers are insufficient to defray their actual living expenses at their posts of duty, leaving nothing for their services.

It is also as remarkable as it is surprising that notwithstanding our phenomenal increase in population and wealth there has been but one increase in the salary of the president and the vice-president since the organization of the government in 1789, and no increase whatever in the salaries of cabinet officers since 1853, of members of congress since 1866, of the judges of the supreme court of the United State since 1873, nor in the diplomatic service since 1856. The history of our public service in this respect is as follows:

The Executive.—By the Act of September 24, 1789, the salary of the president of the United States was fixed at \$25,000 per annum, with the use of the furniture and other effects in his possession belonging to the United States, to be paid quarterly. The salary of the vice-president was at the same time fixed at \$5,000. President Washington, with that sublime patriotism which ever characterized him, refused to accept any salary for his services to his country.

The salary of the president continued \$25,000 until it was increased to \$50,000, payable monthly, by the Act of March 3, 1873. Congress, however, attempted in 1876 to repeal the act increasing the salary to \$50,000, but President Grant righteously imposed

his veto and the salary therefore remains at \$50,000 with the use of the executive mansion.

The Cabinet.—In 1789 the salary of the secretary of state was fixed at \$3,500 per annum, which was increased to \$5,000 in 1799, to \$6,000 in 1819, and to \$8,000, the present salary, in 1853.

The salary of the secretary of the treasury was fixed at \$3,500 per annum in 1789 and was increased to \$5,000 in 1799, to \$6,000 in 1819, and to \$8,000, the present salary, in 1853.

The department of war was created in 1789, and the salary of the secretary was fixed at \$3,000, which was increased to \$4,500 in 1799, to \$6,000 in 1819, and to \$8,000, the present salary, in 1853.

The navy department was created in 1789 and the salary of the secretary was fixed at \$3,000, which was increased to \$4,500 in 1799, to \$6,000 in 1819, and to \$8,000, the present salary, in 1853.

The post-office department was created in 1789, and the salary of the postmaster-general was fixed at \$1,500, which was increased to \$2,000 in 1792, to \$2,400 in 1794, to \$3,000 in 1799, to \$4,000 in 1819, to \$6,000 in 1827, and to \$8,000, the present salary, in 1853.

The office of attorney-general was created in 1789, with a salary of \$1,500, which was increased to \$1,900 in 1791, to \$2,400 in 1797, to \$3,000 in 1799, to \$3,500 in 1819, to \$4,000 in 1830, and to \$8,000, the present salary, in 1853.

The department of the interior was created in 1849; the salary of the secretary was fixed at \$6,000, and increased to \$8,000, the present salary, in 1853.

The department of agriculture was created an executive department in 1889, and the salary of the secretary was fixed at \$8,000, the same as the other members of the cabinet.

Congress.—By the Act of September 22, 1789, the

salaries of the senators and representatives in congress were fixed at \$6 per day and \$6 for every twenty miles of the estimated distance for traveling to and from their homes to the seat of government "by the most usual road." In 1816 the salaries were fixed at \$1,500 per annum and 30 cents mileage. In 1818 the salaries were fixed at \$8 per day and 40 cents mileage by the "most usual road." In 1856 salaries were fixed at \$3,000 per annum and 40 cents mileage. In 1866 the salaries were fixed at \$5,000 per annum and 20 cents per mile, by the nearest route usually traveled in going to and from each regular session, the amounts now paid to senators and representatives in congress.

In March, 1873, Gen. Benjamin F. Butler of Massachusetts succeeded in attaching a "rider" to an important appropriation bill, by which the salaries of the president, vice-president, judges and members of congress were increased, that of members of congress from \$5,000 to \$7,500 with an allowance for their actual traveling expenses, and the act was approved by President Grant. The next day a concurrent resolution was passed, making the increased salaries of members of congress retroactive for a period of two years. This unwise action gave rise to the phrase of "salary grab," arousing public sentiment to such an extent that congress repealed the act on the 20th of January, 1874, and it is said that a large majority of the members of congress covered their increased pay back into the treasury. Owing to constitutional inhibitions, congress could not then repeal the increased salaries granted to the president or judges of the supreme court. As already stated, the repeal of the president's salary was attempted by congress in 1876, but was defeated by the veto of President Grant.

The Judiciary.—By the Act of September 23, 1789, the salary of the chief justice of the supreme

court of the United States was fixed at \$4,000 per annum, the associate justices at \$3,500, the district judges from \$1,000 to \$1,800 per annum. In 1819 the salary of the chief justice was increased to \$5,000 and of the associate justices to \$4,500 per annum. In 1855 it was increased to \$6,500 for the chief justice and \$6,000 for associate justices. In 1871 salaries were increased to \$8,500 for chief justice and \$8,000 for associate justices, and in 1873 it was further increased to \$10,500 for the chief justice and \$10,000 for the associate justices, their present salaries. The salaries of the circuit judges are now \$6,000 and the district judges \$5,000 per annum.

The Diplomatic Service.—The foreign service of the United States was first authorized by act of congress July 1, 1790, and the salaries of the ministers were fixed by the president, at a rate not to exceed \$9,000 per annum, together with an outfit not to exceed one year's salary, which was paid in advance. Under this act legations were established at Paris in 1790, London in 1792, Russia in 1809, Mexico in 1825 and Austria in 1838. An act regulating the diplomatic and consular service was passed August 18, 1856, fixing the salaries of envoys extraordinary and ministers plenipotentiary, to Great Britain and France, at \$17,500 per annum; to Spain, Russia, Austria, Prussia, Brazil, Mexico and China, \$12,000, and to all other countries at which the United States had diplomatic representatives, at \$10,000 per annum. The first diplomatic representative from the United States to Italy was provided for in 1864, although there had been a minister at Naples or Rome for several years, and the salary was raised to \$12,000 in 1871. Germany was established as a first-class mission in 1871, upon the organization of the German Empire, and the salary fixed at \$17,500 per annum, and Russia and Mexico were raised to the same rank about 1890. The provision in the

act of 1790 making an allowance for an outfit was repealed by the act of August 18, 1856, and a provision made authorizing an allowance of salary for a period while receiving instructions, not exceeding thirty days, and also for the time actually and necessarily occupied in transit between their homes and their posts of duty. The missions to London, Paris, Berlin, St. Petersburg, Rome and Mexico were all raised to the rank of ambassadors, between 1893 and 1898, without, however, any increase of salaries or allowances.

When we consider the condition of the country in 1789, the state of society, the enormous national debt of \$22.50 per capita, the condition of the treasury, and the high purchasing power of *real* money, the salaries then authorized appear liberal when compared with those paid under present conditions. There was not then a steam-engine, a steamship, a locomotive, a telegraph or telephone line in the world. It was preeminently the age of the horse, the mule, the cumbersome stage-coach and the lumber-wagon. It required Washington six days to travel from Mount Vernon to New York for his inauguration as president. The same journey can now be made in six hours. Andrew Jackson was twenty-eight days, in 1796, traveling from the Hermitage at Nashville to Philadelphia, to take his seat in congress as a member from Tennessee. The same journey can now be made in as many hours.

Members of congress then reached the seat of government, wherever it chanced to be, on foot, on horseback, or in cumbersome stages, some of them arrayed in Indian moccasins, deer-skin coats and coon-skin caps. Such was the condition of society in those early days of the republic.

President Washington, however, was evidently dissatisfied with the compensation then authorized by congress for many of the public officers. In his ad-

dress to both houses of congress at Philadelphia, December 7, 1796, he said:

"The compensation to the officers of the United States in many instances and in none more than in respect to the most important stations appear to call for legislative revision. The consequences of defective provision are of serious import to the government. If private wealth is to supply the defect of public contribution, it will greatly contract the sphere within which the selection of character for office is to be made, and will proportionately diminish the probability of a choice of men able as well as upright. Besides that it would be repugnant to the vital principles of our government to exclude from public trusts, talents and virtue, unless accompanied by wealth."

For purposes of comparison, let us note some of the salaries now paid by England, France, Germany and Russia and several of the smaller nations, for the same or similar services:

Executive Salaries.	Cabinet Officers.	Ambassadors to the U. S.	Judges.
ENGLAND: The Queen . \$1,925,000	\$25,000	\$32,500	Lord High Chancellor, \$50,000; Lord Chief Justice, \$40,000.
FRANCE: The Pres't . 240,000	12,000	28,000	Court of Cassation, \$5,000 to \$8,000, and an allowance for expenses.
GERMANY: The Emp'r . 3,852,370	Imperial Chancellor and Minister of Foreign Affairs, \$23,000 11,500	23,000	From \$2,500 to \$23,000.
RUSSIA: The Czar . . 12,000,000	Imperial Minister of For'gn Affairs, \$15,288	31,200	Officers called senators constitute highest court in Russia; salaries, \$3,600 to \$6,500.
SPAIN: The King . . 2,000,000			
GREECE: The King . . 200,000			
MEXICO: The Pres't . 50,000	15,000		
CANADA: The Gov.-Gen. 50,000	7,000 to 8,000		

The system of jurisprudence of France, Germany and Russia differs widely from that of England and the United States. In many instances the judges receive some portion of the fees of their respective courts and in many cases allowance for expenses; their total compensation is said to exceed that of the judges of the United States courts.

The principal cabinet officers are also furnished by their governments with official residences. Their ambassadors at Washington are furnished with official residences and in most cases, it is said, allowances are made to them for the customary official entertainments.

England pays her ambassador to France \$45,000, to Germany \$40,000, to Russia \$39,050, to Italy \$35,000, to Austria \$40,000 and furnishes each of them with an official residence.

France pays her ambassador to England \$40,000, to Russia \$42,000, to Germany \$28,000, to Austria \$34,000, to Italy \$24,000, to the Pope \$22,000, and furnishes to each an official residence.

Germany pays her ambassador to England \$34,500, to France \$34,500, to Russia \$34,500, and furnishes each with an official residence.

Russia pays her ambassador to England \$39,000, to France \$39,000, to Germany \$39,000, to Austria \$39,000, and furnishes each with an official residence.

From the above it is seen that the salaries paid by the four great European nations to their executives, cabinet officers, judges and diplomatic representatives are in every instance very much greater than those now paid by the United States, in addition to which all of them furnish official residences for the chief officers of the cabinet and in every instance for their ambassadors and ministers. England, Austria, Germany, Mexico, Korea and Japan own the official residences of their ambassadors or ministers at Washington.

The United States is now a nation containing a population estimated to be more than seventy-five millions of freemen, composed of forty-five states and territories, together with many islands in the sea. Mulhall, the eminent English statistician, estimated the wealth of the United States at the close of 1896 at \$81,750,000,000 with an annual earning capacity of \$15,580,000,000. If these figures were correct the census of the present year will show our national wealth to exceed one hundred thousand millions of dollars. The same high authority estimated the wealth of England at the same time at \$59,030,000,000, of France at \$47,950,000,000, of Germany at \$40,260,000,000, of Russia at \$32,125,000,000, of Austria at \$22,560,000,000, of Italy at \$15,800,000,000, and of Spain at \$11,900,000,000. If these figures were correct they prove that the United States is by far the wealthiest nation in the world and it is increasing in wealth much faster than any other. Our wealth is nearly equal to the combined wealth of England and Russia, of England and Germany, and exceeds that of France and Russia, or of Germany and Russia, and nearly equals that of Russia, Austria, Italy and Spain combined.

Our annual revenue now exceeds \$600,000,000, a greater sum than the entire value of all of the property in the country at the organization of the government. Our net national debt is now a little less than \$1,500,000,000; per capita, 1890, \$14.63. This indebtedness per capita is less than half of that of England, Germany or Russia, and less than a quarter that of France. There is no reason therefore, why our public officers of the people should not be paid just and reasonable salaries.

It is not a party question, but a business question, that should be adjusted on business principles by business methods.

It is a fact that the existing salaries of the vice-

president, members of the cabinet, and of our ambassadors and ministers are largely insufficient to pay the annual rents of their residences and enable them to live in accordance with the reasonable demands and requirements of the society of the present day at their respective posts of duty, leaving them no compensation for the valuable, exacting and responsible services they render to their country. It actually costs our ambassadors or ministers plenipotentiary of the first class more than double the salary they receive to pay the necessary official expenses at the respective capitals to which they are accredited. In fact, it is known that one of our recent ambassadors to Russia could not obtain a suitable residence in St. Petersburg for his entire salary.

Our cabinet officers, ambassadors and ministers are expected to live in as fine residences and entertain as liberally as their foreign associates, and as a rule they do so, paying the necessary expenses from their private funds. It is doubtless generous and exceedingly patriotic for them to do so, but it is highly improper, unjust, and morally wrong for the government to permit any public officer to pay from his own pocket the necessary expenses for conducting his office. No person, except a man of wealth, can now afford to accept any of those positions, and the president's choice is now and for many years past has been practically restricted to men who are able as well as willing to do so.

It is clear, therefore, that congress should take immediate measures to revise the salaries in all of the great departments of the government, placing them on a business basis, and accord to each officer a fair and reasonable salary for the services rendered.

If congress should accord to the president of the United States the salary now paid to the president of France it would at least solve the problem of "What

ought we to do with our ex-presidents? " It would also be good policy and wise economy for the United States to construct and maintain official residences at Washington for the vice-president and for each member of the cabinet, and also own and maintain official residences for the ambassadors and ministers of the United States at all of the principal capitals of Europe. We already own residences for our diplomatic or consular representatives at Tokio, Japan; Bangkok, Siam; Seoul, Korea; Tangiers, Morocco, and Tahiti, Society Islands.

The liberality shown by the county of New York toward its judiciary is in sharp contrast with that of the government of the United States. The judges of the supreme court in the county of New York receive \$17,000 per annum, or \$7,000 *more* than the chief justice and \$7,500 more than the associate justices of the supreme court of the United States, while the city police magistrates of the city of New York receive \$7,000 per annum, or \$1,000 more than the circuit or district judges of the United States! If the United States should pay the judges of its great tribunal a salary of \$25,000 per annum it would be but half that now paid by England to the Lord High Chancellor.

The salaries of members of congress should also be revised and increased, and it would be wise policy for each state to own and maintain the residences of its senators at Washington. It is manifest to all that the dignity, the honor, and the high sense of justice which characterizes the American people, imperatively require that a revision of the salaries of our public officers should be made at the earliest possible moment. It is still true as was said more than eighteen hundred years ago: "The laborer is worthy of his hire."

ADMIRAL DEWEY

In becoming a candidate for the presidency under peculiar circumstances, Admiral Dewey has created an almost universal feeling of disappointment among the American people. Not that he has committed any offense; it is every native-born citizen's right to aspire to the presidency. Nor is there any good reason why a man should not frankly ask for the office if he really desires it, instead of adopting the usual but less frank method of pretending not to want it when he is almost "dying" to get it; but there is always a fitness of things. Although politicians may act upon the spoils system, so far as possible the people make their choice upon the merit system. For a person to be a successful candidate for public office, particularly for the presidency, he must have some good ground for asking the confidence and votes of the people. He must be familiar with public questions, with the duties of public office, indeed he must have had some experience in public affairs.

Ordinarily, for a person to announce himself as a candidate for the presidency, who had no experience and who had no known views on public policy, and who indeed was so colorless politically that it was difficult to decide to which party he belonged, would be only to invite ridicule and derision on the ground of obvious unfitness and entire lack of claim to public consideration for the place. The only reason why Admiral Dewey or any of his personal friends could hope for favorable consideration of his candidacy is that he conducted a marvelously successful naval battle in Manila Bay. His merit in that sphere was recognized by the whole civilized world, and for that he was honored as man was never honored before by the American people.

In this respect the American people were in no wise tardy; indeed, they may be said to have been extravagant, if extravagance were possible under the circumstances. There was nothing suggested that could be done by way of national demonstration of appreciation and tribute to Admiral Dewey that was not done. The nation gave itself over to hysterics in proclaiming its gratitude for Dewey's accomplishment. Indeed, it lavished applause upon him until he cried out to be let alone. Nor is there any criticism that the people overdid the matter. Nobody is disposed to begrudge a cent of the money or a moment of the time or a jot of the enthusiasm that was so unstintedly bestowed. He did at Manila what no naval officer ever did before, sunk or captured the enemy's entire fleet without losing a man. Moreover, his apparent self-possession, entire absence of "big-head," his prompt action in dealing with foreign vessels and all concerned, seemed to mark him as an exceptional hero of exceptional circumstances.

The first thought in many quarters was, Dewey for the presidency! When this suggestion reached his ears he again displayed the exceptional quality and rose to the height of saying No, and added the sensible reason, I don't know enough about government, I am a sailor. All that was evidence of greatness, greatness which consisted of knowing what he knew, and knowing enough to know that he had not the experience and qualifications of political statesmanship. This attitude was appreciated by the American people; with each incident he rose higher and higher in the people's estimation. They said, Here is a man who has risen to the acme of fame in his profession, without taking on the ego-inflation of assuming that he can do everything else as well as he destroyed the Spanish fleet. Had he rested on that accomplishment and preserved the repu-

tation thus legitimately earned, he would have continued the nation's hero, upon the highest pedestal of honor, and remained there for the remainder of his life and endured throughout our history.

It is because he has suddenly changed from all this and seems to have lost his judicious characteristics that everybody is surprised and experiences a feeling of profound regret. In announcing himself as a candidate for the presidency he has revealed characteristics the opposite of those by which he won his honors.

Indeed, his every act in his new political role indicates the novice rather than the statesman. It is sympathetically suggested that he has been surrounded by bad advisers, but even so it shows that in politics he is not proof against bad advisers, which is an essential quality in successful political leadership. Whether it be due to the burning ambition of his wife and her relatives, or whatever, it shows that he has no such ability correctly to judge and wisely to act in politics that he showed in war.

He may have been largely influenced by the experience of Governor Roosevelt, but if so it is another evidence of his incapacity correctly to gauge political influences. There is only one point of similarity between the case of Colonel Roosevelt and Admiral Dewey, and that is that they were both successful heroes in the Spanish war. But Colonel Roosevelt was essentially a man of political life. He was one of the most active, aggressive, successful, public-spirited young men of this generation. He was not a novice in politics, but an active student and constant participator in political affairs. He had served with distinction in the legislature, as chairman of the civil service commission, as president of the board of police commissioners of New York city, and as assistant secretary of the navy. He passed from one office to another because of

his marked success in every position he held, and he left the highest position to organize a regiment and go to the war, in which he gained the highest honors of the army.

When he came from Santiago at the close of the war, therefore, he was not a novice in politics. There was no doubt as to the party to which he belonged, and as to his definite views on important public questions. On the contrary, he was a pronounced republican and an aggressive advocate of specific reform policies. In fact, he left the field of statesmanship temporarily to join the army, and in his new field he rose to the front and carried off the distinctive honors. When he returned, therefore, he returned to the sphere of public life in which he had had much longer experience than in war, and it was the most natural thing that the distinction he had won at Santiago should contribute to his popularity in politics, where he was still better known and which he had made his life calling.

Moreover, Col. Roosevelt did not announce himself as a candidate for governor with a willingness to take a nomination from any party, leaving the public in doubt as to his views on all public questions. On the contrary, as already stated, he was a pronounced partisan with distinct ideas, and the tide set in throughout the state demanding his nomination for governor. The shrewd politicians, the party organization, in fact all the pressure of organized political machinery, were impotent to suppress this public demand. There was no reason why Governor Black should not have had a second term, except for the fact that the spontaneous uprising among the voters demanded Roosevelt.

In Admiral Dewey's case nothing of this kind exists. He has had no experience whatever in political public life; his experience has been only in the navy, and there he rose to the top, but politics was

strange and unknown to him, and when he remarked on his return from Manila that he did not know enough about public questions to be president, the truth of which he has since demonstrated, everybody believed him. There was no call from the people for Dewey to be a candidate for president, any more than there would be for Lord Salisbury to take charge of a cotton factory. In fact, the world does not ask a blacksmith to make watches or a watchmaker to write poetry; it calls for people to do that which their experience and training are at least supposed to fit them to do, and hence nobody seriously thought of Admiral Dewey for president. The announcement of his candidacy was a surprise, and when he hesitated about indicating to which party he belonged the surprise was greater, and when he spoke of the presidency as a mere executive office, a kind of chairmanship, he revealed the novice, which created universal regret.

Such unfamiliarity with the duties and responsibilities of the highest political office in the nation, in a gentleman announcing himself as a candidate for the presidency, made everybody sorry for Dewey. Nobody is disposed harshly to criticize him, but only to regret that the nation's greatest hero in another field should have made such an inexplicable mistake. It is no particular criticism of Admiral Dewey that he knows nothing about the money question, the tariff question, and the other important problems of public life; he was not expected to know these things, but ignorance on such matters in a candidate for the presidency takes one's breath away. But in addition to this unfamiliarity with the duties of the office to which he aspires and obvious unacquaintance with public affairs he adds the quality of indifference. He says he never voted in his life and never but once had a desire to vote. It

would be difficult to conceive more complete testimony of unfitness for the office.

His candidacy will make no particular difference in the campaign. Of course, Mr. McKinley will be nominated by the republicans at the Philadelphia convention; that is a foregone conclusion. Whether it would be wiser that another candidate be nominated or not, the fact remains that he will be the republican nominee. When the democratic party meets in a conference at Kansas City Mr. Bryan will be nominated. Between Mr. Bryan and Admiral Dewey the democrats can have no choice. Mr. Bryan is eminently familiar with public questions. He represents a certain theory regarding several of the more important issues, he is one of the ablest exponents in the country of at least one of those theories. Millions of democratic voters believe in him, they believe in his integrity, they believe in his theory and they believe that he knows more about the question than any other man.

Much as they may admire Admiral Dewey, his views upon the questions which the great mass of the democratic voters have been educated to regard as well-nigh sacred are wholly unknown. Indeed, if he has any views at all, and if later he should announce that he holds the same opinions as Mr. Bryan, there are all the reasons in the world for the democrats to prefer Mr. Bryan, who is the ablest exponent of these peculiar doctrines, and if Admiral Dewey should prove to have different views on some of these questions then there is every reason why the democrats should refuse to have him as a candidate. There is indeed no possibility of a man getting the nomination of either of the great political parties whose political opinions are hatched after his candidacy is announced. If he tries therefore to secure the nomination against Mr. Bryan, he will be defeated overwhelmingly if not ignomini-

ously. If he accepts an independent nomination he will incur antagonism that will rapidly grow into personal dislike by millions of American citizens who now admire and honor him.

He will not have the excuse that the prohibitionist candidates or greenback candidates have had, or that Palmer and Buckner had in 1896. These independents at least stood for an idea, but for all that anybody yet knows the Admiral stands for nothing or for anybody but for Admiral Dewey. He asks for the place, not because he can take anything to it, not because he has an idea, not because he represents a political policy, but because the office is the highest gift of the people and he would like it.

The probability is, therefore, that the candidacy of Admiral Dewey, whether he seeks the regular nomination at Kansas City or expects an independent nomination, will disrupt the ranks of the democracy, improve the chances of Mr. McKinley's reelection, make himself a disappointed rejected aspirant for forlorn political honors, with millions of enemies, and dethrone him from the high pinnacle of national honor which he had really earned, and otherwise might have forever enjoyed.

WHY THE SHERMAN LAW WAS PASSED

For years it has been generally charged and believed that the act of 1873 demonetizing silver was stealthily passed through congress, that most of the members of congress in voting for it, and President Grant in signing it, were unaware of its demonetizing clause. Investigation of the history of that law, however, proves that this charge is entirely false. The records show that it was before congress three years and that the debates on the subject occupied several hundred columns of the *Congressional Globe*.

Much the same kind of false statement has been circulated regarding the so-called Sherman act of 1890. It has been commonly charged that the law authorizing the purchase of four and a half million ounces of silver a month was passed as a deal with the silver people, to save the McKinley bill. We have given credence to this view ourselves. Investigation of the facts, however, shows that this statement was a political story without foundation.

The persons most actively concerned in the conference work on the Act of 1890 were Hon. Joseph H. Walker of Massachusetts and Hon. John Sherman of Ohio, the two best informed men in congress on finance. When the inside history of this matter is published it will show that Messrs. Walker and Sherman were engaged in a deadly conflict with free coinage, for which a bill was already pending in the senate. To this they were uncompromisingly opposed, tariff or no tariff. All the evidence points to the fact that if the silver people had been flatly voted down, with the existing state of public opinion on the subject, they would probably have carried the next house and perhaps the senate and so forced upon the country free coinage at

16 to 1. By way of heading off this and resisting the attempt to pass a free-coinage bill that session, the conference, after long higgling yielded to the purchase of four and a half million ounces of silver a month by the government, which then represented the total American output.

This was evidently wise policy. It was not good financiering *per se*, and nobody would have resisted it more vigorously than Mr. Walker or Senator Sherman on its merits as a financial proposition, but it was to head off a many-times more deadly thing. No better evidence of this could be desired than the fact that at the first opportunity the very men who aided in passing the Sherman act were most prominent in urging its repeal. It was enacted in 1890, repealed in 1893. During those three years it served to head off the catastrophe of free coinage, which probably could not otherwise have been prevented, and thus passed the nation over to a period where industrial conditions and public discussion have done the work of creating a sounder public opinion, which has at last legally established the gold standard and rendered free coinage of silver at 16 to 1 an impossibility without the reconversion of the American people and the election of a specific majority in both branches of congress for the purpose. In the light of experience, therefore, while it seemed to be yielding to unsound doctrine, the act of 1890 was really a necessary compromise which perhaps saved the nation from untold disaster.

EDITORIAL CRUCIBLE

THE NEW YORK *Sun* has rendered a real public service in exposing the scheme of Congressman J. D. Richardson to make a fortune by converting public documents into private property. In the interest of public decency it is to be hoped that Mr. Babcock's joint resolution to have fifteen (and if needs be thirty) thousand copies of the "Messages and Papers of the Presidents" printed for free distribution will be adopted, and so defeat the success of this scandalous scheme. Congressmen of the Richardson type should be effectually taught that they cannot cover up their methods of "working" the government by demagogically advocating confiscation of the profits of legitimate private industries above four per cent.

"WAS Slavery the True Cause of the South African War?" is the title of an article in the *Anglo-American Magazine* for March, by Albert Greenwood. The subject is treated with conciseness and brevity, yet Mr. Greenwood has little difficulty in showing that behind and back of the Boer situation the real grievance is that England compelled the Boers to abolish slavery. They have always been hungry slave-owners, and when they were compelled to discontinue chattel slavery in the open ownership of the natives they adopted an apprenticeship system, which was another name for practically the same thing.

Whatever may be said against England on a hundred different charges, on the slavery question she has been straight and unqualified. She abolished slavery in the West Indies in 1835, and has ever since constantly set her face against the traffic in human beings. When she annexed the Transvaal in 1877 she insisted

upon a no-slavery condition, for which the Boers hate her more than for any other one thing. Slave-owning is a part of the spirit which denies religious freedom and political rights and equality in the courts to alien inhabitants. Any people who will deliberately arrange their political institutions so as to swindle people out of their property and deprive them of representation, while pretending to grant it, may be expected to have a real pro-slavery spirit. The indictment that England's abolition of slavery in the Transvaal is the real Boer grievance is, to say the least, strongly presented by Mr. Greenwood.

THE *Anglo-American Magazine*, which came into existence with 1900, opens its March number with an article by Thomas G. Shearman on the British and the Boers. Outside of the single tax, the animus of which in his case is free trade, Mr. Shearman is more than an averagely clear-headed student of public affairs, and on the question of the British and the Boers he appears to be at his best. He is entirely free from the maudlin sentimentality so prevalent on the Boer question, that Kruger and Cronje represent a struggling republic. In a clear, strong, straightforward way Mr. Shearman disposes of the idea that the mere name of republic necessarily carries real democratic freedom. He shows in an unmistakable way that the construction of the government and the relation of the two raads is really to conceal despotism rather than to give representative freedom. The second raad was created merely as a pretence to give representation without giving any power to the voters, because all the controlling authority, both in law-making and the judiciary, belongs to the members of the first raad. He shows that Oom Paul is literally a despot, though nominally the president of a nominal republic, and that, notwithstanding that

Great Britain is in name a monarchy, it is in reality far more democratic and liberal to its own people in its entire policy, in its attitude toward civilization, religious and political rights, than the Boer mis-named republic ever aimed to be. In reality, in the present unfortunate struggle in South Africa, it is England and not the Boers who stand for good government, property rights, individual justice, religious equality and political freedom.

IN A RECENT issue of the New York *Evening Post* Mrs. H. M. Plunkett writes of the workings of the half-time school system for factory children in England. She gives an intelligent and encouraging account of how the system has affected the health, intelligence and moral character of the English laborers. She recounts what every investigation on this subject has revealed since the law was adopted in 1844; namely, that the children study better and work better under the half-time system. It is no disadvantage to the capitalists, because they simply employ two children, each to work half a day instead of one to work a whole day. The very self-interest of the parents, in seeing that their children shall not be deprived of the opportunities for a half-day's work, prevents any one child working more than its regular half time each day. Attendance at school being made the condition of permission to work, the law becomes self-enforcing. Parents are eager for children to go to school in order that they may work, and thus by self-interest regular attendance at school is universally secured.

This is altogether the best system of child employment that has yet been adopted in any country. It is a matter of constant surprise that no state in this country has adopted the half-time system. This is a phase of protection which the American protectionists

have overlooked. No more important measure could be adopted for factory and shop workers to-day than the half-time system for all children under sixteen years of age. This would carry into the sweatshop, the dry-goods store, the factories and workshops throughout the country security against overwork and the guarantee of education. It would more effectually than anything else guarantee that the children of immigrants from Europe and Canada should learn the English language and receive at least an elementary education in order to be permitted to take advantage of our opportunities of employment. A ten hour day and half-time factory system would establish an economic, educational and political renaissance in the South.

IN THE *Arena* for April, under the title "Irish National Reunion," Mr. John E. Redmond, M. P., leader of the Parnellite section of the Irish party, writes of the future political power and purpose of the Irish party. Among other things he says: "To-day Ireland can, with union, command eighty-six members, bound together by solemn pledges not to take office or emoluments from the government for themselves or their friends, and to remain absolutely independent of all British parties, ready to support or destroy any British government as the interests of Ireland may demand."

There is nothing new in this. The Irish members of parliament, so long as they could keep from quarreling among themselves have always been "bound together by solemn pledges . . . to support or destroy any British government."

"At the present moment," Mr. Redmond says, "the British government possesses in the House of Commons a majority of 150 avowedly hostile to Ireland." This is written for American consumption. Nothing is farther from the truth. There is no avowed hostility

to Ireland in the British parliament. The only hostility that exists is to Irish independence. So far as hostility to beneficial and liberal legislation for Ireland is concerned, the facts are all the other way. In these respects Ireland is more generously treated than either England, Scotland or Wales. Politically she has twenty-four per cent. more representation, according to population, than England has. If Ireland were put on the same basis of representation as England, which it is only equitable that she should be, she would have only seventy-nine members of parliament, instead of one hundred and three. Her land laws are almost socialistically favorable to tenants and against landlords. Indeed, in no other country has there been any such favorable legislation for tenants as in Ireland. In the matter of the established church, also, is Ireland the exception. England, Scotland and Wales have to support a state church, which some day they will get rid of, but Ireland was relieved of that incubus in 1868. In her land laws, religious laws and political representation she is more favored than any other part of the British Empire.

WHAT IS THE matter with Australia, that it should be backsliding from the free-trade doctrine of the mother country? The colonies of Victoria and New South Wales have hitherto had independent policies on this subject; Victoria having protection against both foreign and colonial products, while New South Wales had free trade. Instead of Victoria giving up its protection, as was expected, there is a movement on foot to extend protection to both colonies under the form of a "federal tariff."

At a recent "Inter-Colonial Protectionist Conference" a platform was adopted and plan of propaganda outlined. Many of the propositions of the Australian

protectionists are eminently sound. For instance, their platform says: "That the amount of import duty imposed for protective purposes on any article should be based on the difference between the cost of production of such article in the country of its cheapest production and its estimated cost of production in the Australian Commonwealth, having particular regard to the difference of wages paid, hours worked, and social conditions in each case."

It demands total prohibition of prison-made goods, and asks: "That all goods which compete with protected productions, or which may be used in substitution for protected productions, should be subjected to duties sufficient to place them on level terms with such protected articles, notwithstanding the fact that they may be impossible for Australian production."

But the Australian protectionists have gone one step farther than either the English or American protectionists, in that they favor protective legislation for labor as well as for capital. Under this head they call for factory and shop legislation regulating the hours of labor, overtime, and other conditions of the workshops. In this country protectionists have limited their advocacy of protection to the duty on imports, but they have been as much opposed to factory legislation, either in the interest of shorter hours, no night work for women, minimum age or other restrictive conditions for children, as the most ultra free traders.

It is encouraging to see that Australia is entering the field of protection on a broader and more scientific plane than that upon which the protective system of the United States has hitherto rested. Protection only half protects when it puts a duty on imports. It is no less important to national development that the opportunities for social, educational and physical improvement be secured to the laborers than that the market be protected for manufacturers.

THE CITY HISTORY CLUB OF NEW YORK

CHARLES B. TODD

Of the hundreds of societies in New York city—educational, benevolent, charitable, reformatory—the most original and far-reaching in its aims is the City History Club, since its object is to make of the boys and girls of New York good citizens—public-spirited, unselfish, patriotic.

Almost all the ills that afflict our body politic in New York arise from the indifference or selfish love of ease of the citizens, and no little of this apathy arises from ignorance of the city's noble and romantic history. New Yorkers know all about the history of Greece and Rome and very little of that of their own city. They are not alone to blame. The studies of the public and private schools, the curriculum of the city's colleges, seem to be arranged largely with that end in view. To remedy this lack of knowledge, to develop in boys and girls who are to be the citizens of the next generation a consciousness of public duty and responsibility, is the object of the City History Club, just as the League for Political Education aims to instruct and stimulate the present generation of citizens.

How could this object be best obtained? The problem was the subject of long and careful study by the founders of the club, and at last they fixed upon a plan admirable in theory and in practice yielding excellent results. The city was divided into five districts, each named after some historic personage or place, as Stuyvesant District, the Rhineland, the De Lancey, the Washington Square, the Bloomingdale; and little "clubs," or classes of boys and girls, were formed in them, each a complete little unit in itself, although an

integral part of the parent club. These "clubs" are almost wholly educational in purpose, the social side which forms so prominent a feature of the university and college settlements being held in abeyance. Each class is in charge of a teacher, mostly volunteers, though a few are paid. The club meets once a week. There is a chairman and secretary for each, and the proceedings are conducted according to parliamentary laws and usages. A lesson is given out for each meeting on city history or government, sometimes illustrated by pictures or lantern slides. Sometimes there is a debate, or an essay or essays written by a member of the class.

An excellent way of arousing the children's interest, it has been found, is to give them pictures of some historic landmark, or building, or personage connected with the city, and ask them to write what they know or can find out about it. For this purpose the club has acquired a large collection of engravings.

By far the most popular method of teaching local history, however, is by means of excursions to various quarters of the city rich in historical landmarks, and a study of them at first hand, as it were. On these occasions the class is led by the teacher, the places to be visited are named in advance, and the students are expected to inform themselves as to their history and position. The society also issues a printed itinerary or guide to the places to be visited.

The first excursion of the club was to the Battery, under charge of Miss Florence Bissell, chairman of the committee on excursions, and embraced the following landmarks or their sites:

The "Battery," or stone breastwork for years on the line of the present State Street. The barracks of the British troops in the colony times, on the present line of Water Street. Old Fort Amsterdam, that stood

in the present Battery Park, and after New York was captured by the English took the name of the reigning king. The equestrian statue of King George III., that formerly stood in Bowling Green and was pulled down by the American whigs in July, 1776, much of the lead in it being molded into bullets for the patriot army, Fraunces' tavern, still standing on the corner of Pearl and Broad Streets, and where Washington bade final farewell to his officers. Site of the Dutch city hall or "Stadt Huys," 73 Pearl Street. Office of Bradford's printing-press, the first in New York, at 83 Pearl Street. Office of the *Gazette*, the first newspaper printed in New York, on the site of the present Cotton Exchange, Hanover Square. Wall Street, on the line of which ran the ancient palisade, or city wall, built in 1653 to defend the then city from the Indians and English. Marble statue of William Pitt, that stood on the corner of William and Wall Streets; erected by the whigs in honor of Pitt for his defence of the colonies, and mutilated by the Tories; now in possession of the New York Historical Society. The old English city hall, where Washington was inaugurated the first president of the United States, on the corner of Nassau and Wall Streets. Trinity Church, St. Paul's Church, City Hall Park and the City Hall, ending with an ascent to the dome of the *World Building* for a bird's-eye view of the city.

Excursion number two was to the old houses in Greenwich; number three to the rooms of the New York Historical Society and to St. Mark's Church with its family vault, built by Stuyvesant himself.

Number four was a bicycle excursion planned by Professor Frank Bergen Kelley, the society's normal teacher, through Central Park to McGowan's Pass tavern, which stands nearly on the site of the tavern where Washington decided to evacuate New York in

1776. Through this pass the British pursued the American army across northern Central Park, over Harlem Plains to Harlem Heights, where and in the plain below the battle was fought. Number six was an excursion, led by Mr. Kelley, to Fraunces' tavern, and number seven one to New York below Wall Street, by the same gentleman.

The children are vastly interested in the old-time places, particularly in those connected with the revolution. Washington and Hamilton, and Burr, who killed Hamilton in a duel, appeal strongly to their imaginations.

The boys say that, on the whole, bicycle excursion number four to Harlem was the most fruitful and interesting of the seven. Dismounting in McGowan's Pass, their teacher told them the story connected with it—how in 1776 the pass formed part of the farm of Daniel McGowan, who had joined the patriot army, leaving the farm and homestead in charge of his son Andrew, a boy of twelve; and how, on September 15th of that year, the Hessians came hurrying up in pursuit of Washington's army, which had retreated through the pass a few hours before, and commanded Andrew to lead them to the American camp. The lad knew that the patriot army was within an hour's march, and therefore led the Hessians in a different direction across country toward the North River, where they were soon lost in swamps and thickets, thus giving Washington time to reach Harlem Heights and entrench.

From the pass the class walked up the hill on the right to old Fort Fish, overlooking Harlem Mere, an American redoubt in the revolution and also in the war of 1812. An old cannon and mortar here interested them immensely. Thence they rode up East Drive to Seventh Avenue, dismounted and walked up the hill on the left to visit an old block-house erected in the war

of 1812. Thence east to Fifth Avenue, and up that thoroughfare to Mount Morris, site of the former Indian village of Muscoota, and whose summit in 1776 was crowned with American and later with English breastworks. Thence up Fifth Avenue to 126th street and west to St. Nicholas Avenue (formerly Harlem Lane), entering the latter near the picturesque "Point of Rocks," overlooking the Hudson, where the American line of entrenchments across Manhattan Island in the revolution began. Thence south on St. Nicholas Avenue, Manhattan Avenue and the Boulevard, to 106th Street, traversing en route the entire battle-ground of Harlem Heights. Thence to Grant's Tomb and back to Hamilton Grange on Hamilton Place, the seat of Alexander Hamilton, built by him in 1802, and where he was living when shot by Burr in 1804. The thirteen trees planted by him (or his nephew) in honor of the thirteen states, nearly opposite the Grange, were viewed by the boys with great interest.

After this the class rode to Trinity Cemetery, on 153d Street, and saw in its wall the tablet to Leytch and Knowlton, the heroes of the battle of Harlem Heights, and then on to the site of Fort Washington, scene of one of the sharpest fights of the revolution, to the old Jumel mansion, now Earl Court, in 1776 the headquarters of Washington and Knyphausen in turn; thence down to Kingsbridge on the Harlem, and through Van Cortlandt Park to the manor house, whence it returned to the city by rail.

No building has so strong a hold on the children's affections as the City Hall. By express orders of his honor the mayor they are accorded the freedom of the building and the employes exert themselves to impart information. Every class insists on seeing the mayor, and his honor always accords them an interview. One

little girl of twelve raised a laugh at the expense of the city's chief official.

Seeing a disappointed look on her face the mayor kindly said: "What is it my little girl?"

"Why sir," said she, "I thought you would be bigger man."

Wishing to see for himself a class in session, the writer betook himself to the East Side on a windy evening in March. Turning into Tenth Street from Second Avenue a walk of two blocks brought him to the corner of Tenth Street and Avenue A, where St. Mark's Club holds its meetings. Our directions were explicit, the room was over a laundry one flight up—a corner room with its windows looking out diagonally on Tompkins Square. A boy whom we accosted on the stairway said he was on the way thither and would lead us to the room. It was scantily furnished with three plain tables, and a dozen or more of wooden chairs and stools. Eleven boys from ten to twelve years old were already assembled with their teacher, a young senior of New York University.

The lesson was on the adoption of the federal constitution and election of the first president in 1789, but was subordinated, as the teacher explained, to the business meeting which was one of more than usual importance. There was to be a speaking contest for a prize the next week in connection with the annual exhibition of the Boys' Club of St. Mark's Place. Seventeen boys of the City History Club had been chosen to compete for it, and the arrangements must be made at this meeting. After this had been done the lesson of the evening was taken up.

The visitor could but be pleased with the ready answers of the boys to the questions and their evident interest in the subject.

The City History Club has a few paid teachers but

depends largely on volunteers. It has grown from thirty-five to ninety classes and from seven hundred to two thousand student members, since 1897. Its great want at present is teachers and lecturers to take charge of the classes ready to be formed as soon as the necessary teachers can be found. The work is practical, helpful and interesting to the teacher and one for which our young men and women of leisure can easily qualify themselves. The field is white for the harvest but the laborers are few.

A pleasant feature of the club is its affiliation with other clubs and societies of similar objects. Its relations with the League for Political Education are as close as those of mother and daughter.

"Each society is complementary to the other. The City History Club develops in boys and girls, the citizens of the next generation, a consciousness of public duty and responsibility. The League for Political Education instructs and stimulates the present generation of citizens. One is the primary school of civics; the other the high school."

The club has many classes in the university and college settlements, several in the public schools, but does a greater work in that field by supplying public school teachers with material and data for teaching city history. It also has a class in the Boys' Club as before remarked, but it has in the main done pioneer work, establishing its classes in neighborhoods where there are no institutions with similar objects.

The eagerness and enthusiasm with which the boys of even the worst neighborhoods have taken up the study of citizenship and patriotism is a surprise and a pleasure to the founders, and well repays them for their labors and anxieties. Lads of from twelve to fourteen by their questions, answers, and essays show themselves well able to assimilate what is taught them.

CIVIC AND EDUCATIONAL NOTES

**New
Tenement House
Commission** Governor Roosevelt's emergency message on the tenement house question, sent to the legislature on April 2d, had the desired effect. The measure appropriating \$10,000 for a commission to investigate New York and Buffalo tenement conditions and recommend legislation is a useful first step, because conditions have changed since the famous tenement house commission of 1894 went into the subject, and moreover we now have a governor who earnestly believes in handling this menace to healthful and progressive city life without gloves. No half-way measures will do any good. There must be rigid insistence on proper sanitary and air-space requirements, and radical powers given to some efficient authority to condemn bad tenements. If we can have another term of Governor Roosevelt something can be done for better tenements that is worth doing.

**American
Training for
Cuban Teachers** The future of Cuba is confessedly one of our gravest problems. The task of freeing her from Spain has been followed by the more perplexing work of making her fit to be the independent and self-governing nation we have pledged ourselves to establish. No one scheme of reform, no matter how commendable, will accomplish all that is necessary, because every phase of life in the island,—industrial, political, social and educational,—must be reached and regenerated. A plan recently proposed would, if carried out, do much toward solving the educational problem. President Eliot of Harvard University has offered to provide, free of charge, for the instruction of one thousand Cuban teachers at the Harvard summer school for teachers. It is further pro-

posed to give the teachers a trip across the continent for the purpose of visiting our principal cities, colleges and universities. The advantages to be gained from bringing Cuban children under the influence of American methods of teaching, American ideas and customs, cannot be overestimated. It will begin the work of civilization where, on the individual's side, it must begin, to be truly effective,—with the young. If enlarged and carried on year by year the coming generation will have made great strides toward civilization.

The Cuban teachers fully appreciate the advantages of such a plan, and it is unfortunate that the number must be limited to one thousand. It is believed over two thousand applications will be made.

Good
for New
Orleans!

New Orleans is the metropolis of the South; but in many respects, alas, it has been until lately one of our most backward cities. There has been little about it, either in physical characteristics or civic spirit, to label it as an American city. Public effort has mostly been applied to keeping the Mississippi from turning the town into a modern Venice with the principal streets as canals;—and, indeed, some approximation to this has been a regular feature all the time, in the shape of wide surface gutters along the curbs carrying the city's sewage.

But New Orleans has not been insensible to the new spirit of civic improvement that has been sweeping across the land within the last few years. A number of fine new public buildings have been erected recently, and in some of the leading streets at least the disgusting surface drainage has been abolished and the sewers put underground. Last year the city arose to a crowning act worthy of sincere congratulation and wide recognition. It is not an enormously wealthy city, yet it voted to borrow from \$14,000,000 to \$16,000,000 for

a complete system of waterworks and drainage, and at the same time agreed to a special tax of two mills on the dollar for the next forty-three years, and the diversion of certain other revenues, to provide for the interest on this loan. An expenditure of \$16,000,000, based on a total assessed valuation of only \$140,000,000, is a good deal more of an undertaking than New York's \$36,000,000 for rapid transit, on an assessed valuation of three and one-half billions; about one to nine in the one case, and one to ninety-seven in the other. It is a rather heroic task for New Orleans. May the results amply justify it.

**A Suggestion
About the
Hall of Fame**

New York University has been given a large sum of money for a Hall of Fame, in which the names of one hundred and fifty "Great Americans" will be recorded. The first fifty names will be inscribed the present year, and every five years hereafter five more names will be added, which will conclude the list in the year 2000. The names must be those of men and women born in this country and who have been dead at least ten years. Before any name is inscribed it will be submitted to about one hundred professors or writers of American history and must be approved by the senate of the university.

It is hard to imagine a proposition that would cause more radical divergences of opinion in the process of carrying it out than will this one. A few names all will agree upon, but the standard of excellence varies so widely, according to the viewpoint selected, that no list can be finally agreed upon without more or less arbitrary action. The provision that only the names of native-born Americans may appear will exclude many of our distinguished patriots and scholars, to say nothing of the early colonial governors and pioneers;

but if it is to be strictly an American list this seems inevitable. The other provision, that they must have been dead ten years, is a wise one. It will put those whom it is desired to honor far enough into the past to soften acute personal feeling and give opportunity to distinguish between ephemeral reputation and real fame.

Instead of reserving so large a part of this memorial for names that will only become famous during the twentieth century, to the exclusion of many brave and noble men and women who shared in the constructive upbuilding of the republic, would it not be far better to inscribe the whole one hundred and fifty names now, or perhaps set the closing date forward about ten years from now, in order to include such names as Lowell, Holmes, Whittier, Blaine and others? This would make it a monument to the first century of our national life, and future generations could provide suitable honors for their own good and great. The Hall of Fame cannot serve as a perpetual tablet for all great Americans, past and to come; why, then, extend it arbitrarily to the year 2000, instead of letting it help perpetuate the memory of those we have produced thus far?

Surely the marvelous era of history made and lived and fought out and wrought out here in this free and mighty new empire of the West, from colonial times down to 1900, has produced at least one hundred and fifty names worthy of lasting honor and remembrance, certain to be accorded by all Americans who shall ever feel a throb of gratitude for the civilization and freedom they enjoy.

THE OPEN FORUM

This department belongs to our readers, and offers them full opportunity to "talk back" to the editor, give information, discuss topics or ask questions on subjects within the field covered by GUNTON'S MAGAZINE. All communications, whether letters for publication or inquiries for the "Question Box," must be accompanied by the full name and address of the writer. This is not required for publication, if the writer objects, but as evidence of good faith. Anonymous correspondents are ignored.

LETTERS FROM CORRESPONDENTS

Dr. Henderson's Proposed Curriculum

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—I have read the article on "For Character, Not Cleverness" in your March number with interest, and I quite agree with its human spirit. I cannot feel, however, that the curriculum quoted from my kindergarten address is too radical. As my teaching progresses, I feel increasingly that the early years of childhood, up to the 15th year, should be devoted to the moral, artistic, organic side of life, and that the formal, analytic work should be left to the high school and the college.

C. HANFORD HENDERSON,
Pratt Institute, Brooklyn, N. Y.

Uniform Assessment for Taxation

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—In reference to your editorial on taxation in the March magazine, would it not be a better system to have real estate taxed upon its regular market valuation, regardless of mortgage, and that such tax should be levied only once both for state and local purpose? The state should do all the appraising and col-

lecting, and then pay to each locality whether city or county a certain fixed amount sufficiently large to cover its annual expenditures, according to a budget prepared in advance.

An exception could perhaps be made with large cities, where the local authorities should collect the taxes and pay to the state a fixed percentage of the total amount collected.

As to who should pay the taxes, I think that the present legal owner should pay it, whether he owes anything on the property or not. It is the owner of the property, and not the man who loaned him money on it, who will eventually get all the profit that may come out of the investment. The interest the owner pays on money loaned to him is a part of the expense attendant on the management of the property, and will cease as soon as the debt is paid. It is the amount left in his hands after all expenses have been paid that is real profit, and it is a part of that profit that the government may in justice expect from every good citizen.

The taxation of capital may be just in the abstract, but is not practicable, since the owners of capital could always shift the tax upon those who needed their capital. And since in either case it is the borrower, as well as the consumer, who ultimately must pay the tax, it is best for the government to acknowledge the principle and arrange its system of taxation in accordance with it.

PHILIP ROSENTHAL,
New York City.

A Southern "Community Mill" Plan

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—Having noticed some mention of your President Gunton's speech in New York upon the subject of better wages for laborers in southern cotton

mills, I take the liberty of writing to you. Nearly a year ago I became wrought up by the extreme pauperism of such laborers, who are becoming so numerous among us, because our population was driven from the farm by 5 cent cotton. The drift of pauperized white labor away from the cotton fields to mills offering bread for wages is so great that ordinary care for helpless humanity has become a serious problem to our towns and cities. It is a common thing for alms to be solicited on our streets, for the purpose of burying the dead of the toilers at the wheel. Many of these youthful laborers are so driven by necessity that they are deprived of all education, not to mention the natural pleasures of childhood. Toiling twelve or fourteen hours per day, "to feed mamma and little sister," these heroes in rags are deprived of the intellectual crumbs of charity that are provided for them by our public schools. Without magnifying this condition of actual distress, it must be admitted as a fact of general observation. Even our merchants have learned by experience that mill hands, at present wages, add but little to any profitable trade or to general prosperity. For commerce is not profitable when the purchaser is unable to pay for the necessities of life. Therefore, merchants and others are beginning to reflect as to whether a community mill, run to maintain higher wages, would not benefit all classes of society.

Hence I have applied for and procured a charter for a "Community Mill" here, solely for the purpose, as provided in the charter, of maintaining a higher scale of wages and promoting the social and intellectual condition of such laborers. The charter provides for a capital stock of \$100,000, one-tenth of which is called primary stock and is the only stock that can be voted in the management of the enterprise; that this stock itself shall never receive more than three per

cent. dividend, and the \$90,000 of other stock shall never receive any dividend, but the entire profit of the mill is to be devoted to the purposes stated.

Of course I had little hope of procuring the necessary funds to start the mill upon these unselfish conditions, but two methods of doing so occurred to me, neither of which has been attempted. One was to procure subscriptions for the \$90,000 of stock in many small contributions from laboring people. The other was to procure similar aid from northern manufacturers, who, I felt confident, would be forced to protect themselves from this pauper labor. It is possible for the better class to extend such aid to the community mill, without actual donation, such as might be inferred from the fact that the bulk of the stock draws no dividend.

If I can control the primary stock of \$10,000, and I think I can do so, I would be willing to devote the balance of my life, being now 50 years old, to accomplish the purpose of this charter—to maintain higher wages, etc. You can readily see that the owner of the primary stock might, where no dividend is to be paid, pay himself sufficient wages to repay any aid he might receive to pay for the \$90,000 of stock. To enable me to procure such aid and repay the same was the sole purpose of leaving this opportunity in the charter. As the cotton mill business is so universally profitable in the South, such credit arrangement with those equally interested in forcing better wages here ceases to be mere donations. Nothing seems more likely to constrain mills here to increase wages than the establishment of such community mills, which would not only become an example but would be rallying points for the oppressed.

WM. S. WHITAKER,

Barnesville, Ga.

QUESTION BOX

Land Taxation in New Zealand

Editor, GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—In conversing with an occasional champion of "single tax," New Zealand is cited as a country where the experiment is in successful operation. I have searched for some writings on New Zealand to learn the entire history of the experiment but found nothing of much value. Perhaps the land problem in New Zealand might furnish you a theme for some future lecture.

Thanking you in advance for any reference you may give me, and with a high appreciation of the good work you are doing,

R. WILLIAMS, Streator, Ill.

Those who affirm that the "single tax" is enforced in New Zealand are mistaken, unless it has gone into force within the last year. It is true that taxes are concentrated on land in a greater degree in New Zealand than in any other place I know of, but when you speak of the "single tax" you speak of it as advocated by the followers of Henry George. With them the single tax means that the revenues of the community shall not only all be drawn from land but that the tax on land shall be equal to and take the whole of the economic rent therefrom.

In New Zealand neither of these things is done. All revenue is not raised from land. They have an income tax wholly independent of land, and their land tax is not equal to the entire land value but is a graduated tax on the value of the land. For instance, where the value of a piece of land is five thousand pounds, or less than ten, the tax is one-eighth of an English penny, or a quarter of a cent on the pound (five dollars), and the

rate increases as the value rises. Where the value is two hundred and ten thousand pounds or more, the tax is twopence, or four cents on the pound. But even at the highest rate it will be seen that this is only an infinitesimal fraction of the land values.

You will find the best account of this that I know of in the Consular Report for January, 1897, where full particulars of the graduated land tax will be found on page 29. You can get the report by applying for it through your congressman.

How the "Wars of the Roses" Began

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—Your account of the Wars of the Roses, in answer to a question in your April magazine, leaves little to be desired on the score of conciseness and cleverness, but you do not state what was the cause of the quarrel between Henry VI. and the Duke of York, in 1455, out of which the war arose.

M. P., Philadelphia, Pa.

As already explained* Edward III. had seven sons; the eldest, Edward Prince of Wales (the "Black Prince") died in 1376, leaving an only son. At the death of Edward III. in 1377 this boy was crowned as Richard II. Richard being childless the eldest male line became extinct, hence the heirship to the throne fell to the descendants of the sons of Edward III. in the order of their age priority. The eldest son was dead, the second son had died without heirs; Lionel, Duke of Clarence (third son), John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster (fourth son), and Edmund Langley, Duke of York (fifth son), were still represented by legitimate heirs. Of course, the crown would rightfully go to the descendants of Lionel (third son), being the oldest representative of Edward III. Lionel, whose daughter

* GUNTON'S MAGAZINE for April. pp. 372-373.

Philippa married Edmund Mortimer, had two grandchildren, Roger and Anne Mortimer. Roger was dead, but left a son, Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March. Anne Mortimer had married Richard, Earl of Cambridge, the eldest son and heir of Edmund Langley, Duke of York (fifth son). It will be remembered that Henry IV., who usurped the throne from Richard II., was the son of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster (fourth son); but Edmund Mortimer, the great grandson of Lionel, clearly had the prior claim. In order to make things safe, Henry IV. had Edmund Mortimer arrested and thrown into jail, and he finally died without heirs. The only remaining representative of Lionel was Anne Mortimer, who had married the Earl of Cambridge. By this marriage the claims of the third son (Lionel) and the fifth son (Edmund Langley) were united. The descendants of this marriage clearly had the superior claim to the throne over Henry VI., who represented only the fourth son.

Richard, Duke of York, son of Anne Mortimer, attempted to enforce his claim to the crown, but was captured and executed, leaving the duty to maintain the York claim to his son of the same name. This claim was the stronger by the fact that Henry VI. had no heirs, but finally a son was born to the king, destroying the Duke of York's hope of peacefully obtaining the crown. In 1453, however, the king became demented and the Duke of York claimed the right of protectorate during the king's illness, which was granted by parliament; but in 1455 the king recovered his senses and deprived the Duke of York of his position, whereupon he took up arms against the king to enforce his own claim to the throne. On May 22d, 1455, the two armies fought the battle of St. Albans; thus began the Wars of Roses.

BOOK REVIEWS

THE HISTORY OF AMERICAN COINAGE. By David K. Watson. 1899. Cloth, 278 pp. \$1.50. G.P. Putnam's Sons, New York and London.

There are very few subjects of national significance upon which the American people say so much and know so little as that of the monetary standard. The idea that the present low value of silver, and the establishment of the gold standard finally consummated in the recent act of congress, are simply results of vicious conspiracy, persistent influence of the money and banking fraternity, is accepted in a more or less definite degree by millions of American citizens.

The fact that in the first establishment of the mint congress enacted that $371\frac{1}{4}$ grains of pure silver, with some alloy, should constitute the standard dollar, and that this has continued unchanged ever since, so far as the pure silver is concerned, is assumed to have some kind of an occult significance in connection with the monetary standard.

The reason why congress established the monetary ratio between gold and silver at 15 to 1 in 1792, and changed it to 16 to 1 in 1834, and the reason why Jefferson suspended the coinage of silver dollars in 1806 seems to be very little known, although the subject for several years has been almost interminably discussed in the newspapers, in the clubs and on the street corners. Books and pamphlets innumerable have been published during the last eight years, loaded down with statistical tables, and yet the obvious historic facts that everywhere stand out in the history of our monetary system, as explaining the course of congress on the subject, are practically omitted.

In the present volume, which is admirably printed

in large, clear type and on good paper so as to make it attractive reading, Mr. Watson has given a concise, consecutive history of the subject, which really leaves little to be desired. It is orderly in arrangement, dignified in tone, clear, direct and concise in expression, and conclusive in its cumulative data upon the subject. There is none of the tone of the special pleader, and yet in the presentation of the facts that led up to and the reasons given for the different changes as they came along, the real cause for each step becomes obvious to the reader, unless he persistently refuses to see.

The reason the ratio between the two metals was originally fixed at 15 to 1 is brought out by the reports of Morris, Jefferson and Hamilton, on their respective investigations of the subject. That this was an overvaluation of silver soon became very clear, and consequently practically no gold found its way to the mint, it being more profitable to sell it as bullion in the open market for other purposes.

For this reason France in 1803 changed her ratio from 16 to 1 to 15½ to 1. Everybody then believed in the double standard. It is true Hamilton had a leaning to the single gold standard, but preferred if possible to maintain the double standard. But, by the disparity of the bullion value in the two metals, they refused to work in double harness and keep together. One was constantly balking while the other was leading, all of which is unobtrusively but very clearly brought out by Mr. Watson.

At frequent intervals this subject forced itself upon congress, with the view of making the disorderly team keep evenly together. To this end, in 1834, the minting act was revised, and in order to secure a working basis by which the two metals should be of the same bullion or market value, and hence keep together, the gold dollar was reduced from 24.75 grains (fine) to 23.2

grains, or about six per cent. This was due to the double fact that in the original law of 1792 silver was slightly overvalued, and that during the forty years it had further declined in value. This reduction in the weight of the gold dollar changed the ratio from 15 to 1 to about 16 to 1, or, to be technically correct, 16.002155 to 1. The market price of silver in London was then \$1.313 per ounce, which is 15.73 to 1. Thus the ratio was swung to the other side of the line, and, in about the same extent that in 1792 silver was overvalued by the mint act, it was now undervalued. That is to say, the $371\frac{1}{4}$ grains of fine silver which as before constituted the silver dollar was worth in the market about three per cent. more than the 23.2 grains of gold in the new gold dollar. Consequently, for identically the same reasons that no gold would come to the mint after the act of 1792, no silver would come to the mint after the act of 1834, and, as during this whole time the Spanish silver dollar was legal tender in the United States (made so by the act of 1793), no silver dollars had been coined since 1806. The silver coinage was only for fractional currency.

But now a new difficulty arose. The undervaluation of silver for coining, to the amount of from two to three per cent., not only destroyed any incentive for taking silver to the mint to be coined into dollars at 16 to 1, but it created an incentive of nearly three per cent. for taking the small currency that the government was constantly coining on its own account and exporting it or melting it down into bullion. The result was that the currency disappeared from circulation just as fast as the mint turned it out. No matter how much fractional currency the government furnished, there was almost none in circulation.

In 1837 another attempt to adjust the currency was undertaken. This time it was by altering the amount

of alloy in the coins. Since 1834 gold coins had been made .899225 pure metal and .100775 alloy, while silver coins were .8924 pure metal and .1076 alloy. To simplify the matter, the proportion was changed to nine parts of pure metal to one of alloy in both the silver and the gold coins. At the same time the total weight of the silver dollar was reduced from 416 grains to 412 1-2 grains, so that the amount of pure silver remained the same; but the weight of the gold coin was not changed, and so the reduction in the amount of alloy slightly increased the amount of gold, thus changing the pure gold in the dollar from 23.2 to 23.22 grains. This, it will be seen, again slightly changed the ratio, from 16.002155 to one to 15.988 to one, thus making the ratio slightly higher than 16 to one, whereas before it was slightly lower than 16 to one.

But silver was still undervalued. That is to say, 371 $\frac{1}{4}$ grains of pure silver was still worth more in the market as bullion than 23.22 grains of pure gold, and so no silver went to the mint and the fractional currency which came from the mint continued to be melted and exported.

In 1853 congress was again compelled to try to remedy this. Up to this time the fractional currency was in exact divisions of the dollar. The pure silver in two halves, four quarters or ten dimes was exactly 371 $\frac{1}{4}$ grains. In order to prevent this fractional currency from going out of circulation, the act of 1853 reduced the amount of silver in these coins by seven per cent., limited their legal tender to five dollars, and prohibited the coinage thereof except at the government's discretion, which was the first refusal of free coinage ever enacted. This sufficiently overvalued the silver in the small coins to make any melting of them a loss. After the act of 1853, to melt any of the small coins into bullion would yield only about 95 cents on the dollar,

which effectually stopped all melting and exportation of small coins, and secured their constant circulation.

It will be seen that all this change in the coinage laws was a constant effort of congress to keep the double standard by adjusting the amount of pure metal in the coins to the market value, so as to have them of equivalent bullion value and thus destroy any incentive for either one or the other being taken out of circulation. So far from all this being an effort to regulate the economic value by coinage laws, it was a constant effort to adjust the coinage laws to the economic value, over which neither congress nor all the governments of the earth could exercise any successful control.

The next act, and the one which has given the subject so much notoriety, was the act of 1873. This was another revision of the minting law, and was not brought about by any attempt to deal with the value of silver, for nobody now had any interest in silver. It was still at a premium, and fractional currency circulated perfectly, as it was limited in legal tender, and coined only by the government at a valuation greater than the bullion in it. As to the silver dollar, nobody gave it a thought. It was worth more in the market than in the mint, and had been all the time since 1834, and hence nobody had any interest whatever in mentioning it in all the discussion that took place. The discussion of the change made in the act of 1873 began in 1870, and in all there are several hundred pages of the *Congressional Globe* which are filled with the speeches on this subject, and not one relates in any way to the fate or opportunities of the silver dollar. It had not a friend in court, and for the simple reason that nobody had any use for it for coining purposes, it being worth more elsewhere. Consequently it was not mentioned in the act,—dropped entirely. The gold dollar had been the standard ever since 1834. No other dollar

had been coined. No other dollar had been acted upon as the money of account. It was taken for granted that no other dollar was needed, just the same as in the act of 1853.

The act of 1873 provided that the weight of subsidiary coins should be in grammes instead of grains. The only reason for this, as explained by Senator Sherman at the time, was to make them the exact equivalent of the French coins and the coins of the associated nations of Europe (the Latin Union), the proposed dollar being the precise equivalent of the five franc piece. There being no standard silver dollar either mentioned or required, the trade dollar was authorized. This was a dollar containing 420 grains, coined especially for California and the Pacific states in their trade with China. The number of grains was stamped on the dollar. Nobody objected to this, because nobody needed a silver dollar except the people of the Pacific, who were dealing with Asiatics. No objection was raised to this, and even as late as 1874 Senator Stewart of Nevada, in a speech in congress, said: "I want the standard gold, and no paper money not redeemable in gold." In a speech nine days later, he repeated the same sentiment thus: "By this process we shall come to a specie basis, and when the laboring man receives a dollar it will have the purchasing power of a dollar . . . Gold is the universal standard of the world. Everybody knows what a dollar in gold is worth."

All this, which is brought out with remarkable clearness by Mr. Watson, shows beyond the possibility of doubt to the open-minded student that the act of 1873, which only followed the rule of the act of 1853 and dropped the silver dollar from the list of coins, was the result of the practically continuous effort of congress to adjust our monetary standard to the bullion value of the metal of which it was made, and that there

was no thought on the part of anybody to demonetize either the one or the other. It was not until the value of silver subsequently fell much below the coinage value, so that it would afford a great profit to the bullion owners to have it coined at a ratio of 16 to one, that any interest in the free coinage of silver was heard of. It was the fact that the value of silver declined so rapidly after 1874, from purely economic reasons, as the improvement in the methods of production, refining and transportation, and the discovery of more prolific mines, that caused the movement for free coinage again to assert itself, and led to the law of 1878, which enacted that not less than two million nor more than four million dollars a month of standard dollars should be coined. Under this act (1878—1891) 378,166,793 silver dollars were coined, many times more than the entire amount of standard dollars that were coined in all our previous history under free coinage,

In 1890, as silver continued to decline in value, the demand for more coinage—and for free coinage—increased, because the profits of coinage were larger, and in 1890 the famous Sherman act was adopted, which authorized the purchase of four and one-half million ounces of silver a month. This was estimated to be the entire American output, and it was to be paid for in treasury notes. The silver dollars, certificates and treasury notes issued under these two acts amounted to \$570,166,793.

The continued decline in the value of silver, despite this, and the constant increase of government paper money, threatened the stability of our currency and made it absolutely necessary in the interest of financial stability and business safety to repeal the Sherman law, which both republicans and democrats, in fact everybody except extreme silverites, agreed to. All of which came about as the economic and financial evolution be-

yond the power of any one government or combination of all governments to prevent; in evidence of which, all the leading countries of Europe, including France, the banner free silver country of the world, have been compelled to do likewise, and in 1897 even Asiatic Japan, by virtue of having become a commercial nation, was compelled also to adopt the gold standard and refuse longer the free coinage of silver.

There are many respects in which Mr. Watson's little book is the best that has been published on the subject. It is not loaded up with tables of production of gold and silver; it is not an encyclopedia of the facts of the world's production of the precious metals, but it is a concise, orderly, coherent, clear, intelligible statement of the history of coinage in the United States.

A DIVIDEND TO LABOR. A STUDY OF EMPLOYERS' WELFARE INSTITUTIONS. By Nicholas Paine Gilman. Cloth, 400 pp., \$1.50. Houghton, Mifflin & Company, Boston and New York.

Some years ago Professor Gilman published a volume on "Profit-Sharing Between Employer and Employee." It was intended to be a study of the evolution of the wages system, pointing the way toward the voluntary introduction of cooperative methods in productive industry. It dealt with the theory and economic aspects of the subject as they presented themselves to Professor Gilman, and cited numerous experiments both in Europe and America in support of what the author considered to be the drift of economic evolution.

The present volume may be said to continue the discussion and data presented in the earlier work. "A Dividend to Labor" is intended primarily to give the results of a wide range of experiments in cooperation

and profit-sharing, bringing the data down to the immediate present.

Professor Gilman separates his group of profit-sharing enterprises into two classes, those which grant an indirect dividend to labor, and those which make a direct dividend. Under the head of indirect dividend he cites a numerous group of "welfare institutions" and "patronal institutions" in Germany, France, Holland and Belgium ; also the voluntary institutions for providing insurance and various forms of relief and extra compensation adopted by employers in England and the United States. As illustrations of concerns which have adopted the plan of a direct dividend to labor, based usually on the proportion of profits to the wage roll in each given year, he cites one French institution, the Maison Baille-Lemaire, and in this country three, the Bourne Mills of Fall River, the Proctor and Gamble Co. of Ivorydale, Ohio, and the N. O. Nelson Company of Leclaire, Illinois, and in England one, the South Metropolitan Gas Company of London.

The criticism that it is almost invariably necessary to make on books discussing profit-sharing is that the author fails to appreciate its limitations. Generally the advocate of profit-sharing works up to the point of presenting it as something which will remedy all the difficulties and solve all the problems in the relations between capital and labor. Unquestionably there are phases of cooperative effort and of welfare institutions that can be made a permanent part of our industrial system because of their advantage to both employers and workingmen. But when such features reach the point of taking the place of a definite portion of the regular income of labor, upon which the laborer is dependent, they pass into a very uncertain and doubtful field. They depend upon either the good-will of the employer or his disposition to regard the scheme as

profitable to himself, while another employer might reasonably differ on the same proposition. Such being the case, these semi-gratuities are liable to be suspended or abandoned with every change of management, and this means for the laborer to surrender a part of what has become his customary and necessary income.

If, for example, the introduction of semi-benevolent and profit-sharing features has been allowed to check or become the substitute for what otherwise would have been normal wage increases, then the laborer has simply exchanged a portion of his definite income for another kind of income dependent on conditions that are extremely unreliable and subject to all the variations in the employer's profits, to say nothing of his temper and conscience.

The financial importance of profit-sharing to laborers is ordinarily much exaggerated. It is taken for granted that all such forms of extra income mean an absolute gain which would not have been received by the laborers in any other way. As a matter of fact it is very often the case that wages in these establishments, plus the average dividend allowances received by the workers during normal business conditions, amount to no more than what their wages would come to if they were entirely independent of any semi-benevolent relation with the company but were well organized in trade unions enjoying the friendly recognition of the company. If so, it is definitely better that the income should be in the form of higher wages than divided between wages and several forms of profit-sharing or welfare institutions. Wages are a definite and reliable source of income, determined by economic laws operating throughout the community, and, having once been established on a given plane, the presumption is always in favor of the laborers as against any effort

to reduce them. The public looks upon wages as something to which labor has a distinct ethical as well as economic right ; hence both the moral forces of the community and competitive economic laws fight in behalf of the laborer against arbitrary efforts to lower the wage rate.

Such is not the case with patronal institutions and voluntary dividends granted by a corporation to its men. These are recognized and looked upon as evidences of the liberality of employers, and if ever they are abandoned it is considered a matter entirely for the employer to decide, something to which the laborers have no particular right. The laborers are in the position of receiving a semi-charitable grant, based on the philanthropic spirit of his employer. To such a grant they are never considered to hold any particular ethical and of course no economic right. Any workingman who has been enjoying two or three kinds of extra income, based on the voluntary good-will of the employer, and suddenly loses them by some change of management or bad times, might well wish that his total income had been a little less, perhaps, if it all could have reached him through some definitely established economic channel, not subject to arbitrary suspension, but of a kind to which he could assert an economic right and get the cooperation of his fellows in struggling to maintain.

It must be said, however, that Professor Gilman does recognize some of these limitations, and so escapes many of the pitfalls which lie along the path of the enthusiastic advocate of profit-sharing and cooperative enterprises. Of the institutions he cites in support of his theory, the most successful are those in distributive rather than productive cooperation. This is natural, since cooperative stores involve the minimum of expert industrial genius and specialization. They are

largely of a perfunctory nature, demand no extraordinary ability, and lend themselves more easily than any other kind of industry to management on the committee or representative plan. The main economy in distribution is the opportunity to do a large business. Where this can be secured by voluntary cooperation of large masses of workingmen, there is not much left for highly expert skilled management to perform. But such institutions cannot be cited as evidence that cooperation in the more advanced forms of productive industry would be a success. Indeed, almost every experiment of that kind that has ever been undertaken has failed, and if the concerns have not been abandoned entirely they have been reconverted into joint-stock corporations. This is especially well illustrated in the industrial experience in England during the last half century.

All the efforts at profit-sharing in productive industry which have succeeded are of the nature of voluntary grants from the employers, dependent on the profitableness of the business and entirely under the employer's control. Pensions, idleness or sickness relief, insurance, fraternal societies, reading-rooms, cheap lodgings and meals, are of this character. They do not involve representative control of industry, which is the essential principle in *bona fide* cooperation. These voluntary patronal institutions, and profit-sharing during good years, have succeeded only when they have remained under the entire control of the employers, and thus been prevented from ever encroaching on the economic effectiveness or profit-making capacity of the industry.

Professor Gilman practically recognizes this fact in what he says about the function of the capitalist employer in industrial society and his importance to the welfare of labor. He sees quite clearly that a high order of indus-

trial efficiency is more advantageous in the long run to laborers (since the operation of economic laws will distribute to them a share of the gains of such efficiency) than would be a system based on the kindest intentions in the world but with mediocre capacity to wrench an increasing yield of wealth from nature. This he brings out very well in the following quotation:

“ However much I shall have to say in this volume upon the moral disposition of the employer, I fully recognize the fact that the first thing necessary to the welfare of the workman is that his employer shall be a man of intellectual ability and general force of character—not primarily moral force. It is far more important for the workman that his employer shall be financially successful than that he shall be kind or generous in his dealings. A hard employer, who keeps his men steadily at work for years, on the average wage, is much more of a real benefactor to the operative than a genial employer whose inexperience or lack of capacity closes the factory in a few months: the latter will have the sympathy of his employees, but he is not their best friend. The responsibilities of a typical great entrepreneur of this century are many and varied, and they call loudly for the strong man in the manager's chair. The employer often selects the place in which the factory is to be carried on: he has to build it in accordance with the latest teachings of experience; he has to stock it with approved machinery; he has to find capable overseers and a supply of competent work-people; he has to buy the raw material, to decide upon styles and patterns, and then to sell, in the most favorable market he can find, the finished product, due to all this remarkable and prolonged concert of various abilities in the whole force. He is the one person to whom the chief praise for success is rightly ascribed: just as much is he the one person at whose door the

blame of failure is to be laid—whatever its specific cause, he is properly held accountable for allowing that specific cause to work. ‘Captains of industry,’ who have chosen their lieutenants and privates, they are the culprits or the weaklings to whom failure is due, if failure there be: and, if success arrives:—

“ ‘Brightest is their glory’s sheen,
‘For greatest hath their labor been.’

“Mr. Mallock has not overrated the importance to modern civilization of the strong brain and the forceful character of the successful employer. He deserves to lead, since he is indispensable to the welfare of those allied with him, the capitalist and the workman alike. The incompetent employer, as President Walker declared, is the worst enemy of the workingman, for he soon leaves him unemployed. A successful manager, on the other hand, who feels no particular sympathy with his operatives in their toilsome life, but does keep them in work, year in and year out, stands between them and starvation like a wall. Power and success in the entrepreneur are the surest ground for the employee’s confidence in the future. A fine morality, in the sense of sympathy or kindness or generosity on the employer’s part, is a secondary matter, however important, just as in deeds of war the morality of a Napoleon or a Moltke is not primary. But, assuming the existence in him of all the abilities required for the prosperous working of a great industrial establishment, then good-will to men, sympathy with one’s kind and the human touch are happy and fortunate and admirable additions to the vigor of mind and the power of will which have taken a bond of fate. It will be another proof of strength in the strong employer if he seek and gain all the moral advantage possible, and cement a kindly alliance with his nearest fellow-men,

building up the special and the general welfare in firm union. Morality, no substitute for intellectual ability and force of will in business, is a very noble companion to them."

Not only this, but it is quite true that a broader and more generous spirit on the part of employers toward employees, and not merely their own employees but the working class of the country, would go a long way toward harmonious solution of industrial problems. So much of the industrial conflict of the day arises out of misunderstanding, and short-sighted refusal on the part of employers to recognize the labor movement, especially organized labor, that, were a different attitude and spirit adopted, there is hardly any dispute over wages or hours of labor or working conditions which could not be adjusted between the parties long before any point of open rupture was reached.

Professor Gilman, greatly to his credit, does not allow his predilection for profit-sharing to draw him into any mistaken attitude of hostility to trade unions. "The attitude of the employer," he says, "toward trade unions should be one of frank appreciation of the great good that they have done, and are doing. Some of the most progressive manufacturers of our day have declared their preference for dealing with the authorities of trade-unions, rather than with the men separately. Not a few, like Mr. George Thomson of Huddersfield, and Mr. N. O. Nelson of St. Louis, positively encourage their employees to join a union. The Union, like the Trust, is plainly an enduring element of the modern industrial situation. It should become an incorporated body, with power to sue and be sued, and thus level up its responsibilities to its powers. In the mean time, wise men will adjust themselves to it, and make the best of it, instead of fighting the inevitable. They will not be the first to resist every demand

of the laboring man simply because it comes from a union, or the last to concede a courteous and patient discussion of labor difficulties before disinterested parties."

To put the whole matter in a nutshell:—if the same amount of good-will and friendly interest in labor, which is now devoted to profit-sharing and semi-benevolent enterprises that may be contemplated by other employers, were devoted to open and avowed recognition and encouragement of labor organization, including willingness to treat with union representatives, while helping to supply workingmen with sound and progressive educational opportunities on economic problems, it would do far more to settle the labor question on the basis of mutual progress and good-will than would come from attaching pension systems or free medicine bureaus or home-buying schemes or dividend sharing to every industrial enterprise in the land.

CHARLES SUMNER. By Moorfield Storey. Cloth, 466 pp. \$1.25. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston and New York.

This volume is the latest and certainly one of the most important contributions to Mr. Morse's American Statesmen series. The biography covers the activities and career of Senator Sumner during the most critical period of our history,—just before, during and immediately following the civil war. Brooks' cowardly assault on the senator after his most famous speech on "The Crime Against Kansas" lends an air of tragedy to the life, of which the author takes no undue advantage in the biography of his hero. The assault, however, he regards as doing more for the anti-slavery cause than any other single act, and places Mr. Sumner as almost the equal of Abraham Lincoln in that great movement.

NEW BOOKS OF INTEREST

HISTORICAL AND DESCRIPTIVE

Oliver Cromwell. By Charles Firth, M. A., Balliol College, Oxford. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. Mr. Firth is an authority on the Cromwellian period of English history, having been placed in charge of the principal articles bearing on that period in the preparation of the British Dictionary of Biography.

The War in South Africa. Its Causes and Effects. By John G. Hobson. Cloth, demy 8vo. \$2.00. The Macmillan Company, New York and London. Mr. Hobson has recently been the South African correspondent of the *Manchester (England) Guardian*, and this volume is based on personal study and observation.

A History of the Colonization of Africa by Alien Races. By Sir Harry H. Johnston, author of "British Central Africa," etc. Cloth, 12mo, \$1.50. With maps, etc. The Macmillan Company, New York and London. This appears in the *Cambridge Historical Series*.

SCIENTIFIC AND EDUCATIONAL

The International Geography. Edited by Hugh Robert Mill, D. Sc. Cloth, 8vo, 1,088 pp., \$3.50. D. Appleton & Co., New York. A rich and comprehensive work; a veritable encyclopedia of geographical facts and explanations. It is the work of seventy authors, eminent in the geographical field, and has nearly 500 illustrations. We shall review it in a later number.

History of Education. By Levi Seeley, Ph.D. 12mo, 343 pp. \$1.25. American Book Company, New York, Cincinnati and Chicago. Will be reviewed in a later number.

FROM APRIL MAGAZINES

“The main object of school and college is the same,—to establish character, and to make that character more efficient through knowledge.”—L. B. R. BRIGGS, in “The Transition from School to College;” *The Atlantic Monthly* (March.)

“It was not until 1645 that Cromwell had begun to stand out clear in the popular imagination, alike of friends and foes, as a leader of men. He was now the idol of his troops. He prayed and preached among them; he played uncouth practical jokes with them; he was not above a snowball match against them; he was a brisk, energetic, skilful soldier, and was an invincible commander. In parliament he made himself felt, as having the art of hitting the right debating-nail upon the head.”—JOHN MORLEY, in “Oliver Cromwell;” *The Century*.

“This predominance of the emotional sense over the thinking power appears by no means exclusively in his practical preachments. It pervades his writing on art as well. This it distorts in the first place, and vitiates in the second. It distorts it by giving it the false sanction of moral purpose, of utility. In a large sense, art certainly has this sanction, and no other, like every department of human effort. In the only sense, however, in which this is not a truism, it is false; and a detailed consideration of art in this view results in distortion,”—W. C. BROWNELL in “John Ruskin;” *Scribner's*.

“It goes without contradiction that in our colleges and universities there is practically no educational supervision whatever. It is doubtful if the bravest college president in the country would quite dare to go into a department and make an issue on the methods of instruction obtaining therein; and it is still more

doubtful if he would be sustained by his board, if he did this. The average board would probably suggest to him that he 'would better get at it in some other way,'—wisely neglecting to state in what other way!" —A COLLEGE PRESIDENT, in "The Perplexities of a College President;" *The Atlantic Monthly*.

"When Emerson, at Concord, in 1879, saw his bust, modeled by Daniel Chester French, he remarked approvingly, after looking at it intently, 'That is the face that I shave'—not altogether an unconscious tribute to the fidelity of the work, for he recognized that in detail it conformed to nature. Turning to another bust of himself that stood in the room, a portrait quite without character, he said, 'This one is as harmless as a parsnip.' The philosopher thus, in homely speech, gave a very good art criticism, and one that in general terms may be applied to all of French's work."—WILLIAM A. COFFIN, in "The Sculptor French;" *The Century*.

"When I returned from Elba I found, among other papers of the Bourbons, an account of six thousand francs paid monthly to the editors of the *Times*, besides taking a hundred numbers monthly, and I had *an offer from them to write for me for payment*. I had offers from the editors of several English newspapers to write for me, even during the time of war, previous to my going to Elba, and to insert news and everything else I wished, and that money would be taken to send them to France. I did not do it. I was wrong, however; I ought to have accepted their offers, and then my name would not have been held in such odium in England as it was. This they said themselves to me. For in the end these newspapers formed the public opinion, and always will do. I was very wrong; I see it now.'"—From "Talks with Napoleon" (O'Meara's Journal); *The Century*.





HON. CHARLES H. ALLEN

GOVERNOR OF PORTO RICO

GUNTON'S MAGAZINE

REVIEW OF THE MONTH

Scouring the
Free State

It is sufficiently clear now that the long delay of the British army at Bloemfontein was not without purpose. Lord Roberts waited there a month, apparently doing nothing and allowing the Boers to take up positions all around him and send detachments even as far south as Cape Colony. In all this he had a double purpose. He was gathering together and thoroughly organizing his immense army and establishing a line of supplies for an advance movement of wonderful rapidity and irresistible momentum. At the same time he planned to make a sudden raid and capture separate bands of the enemy to the East and South before they could extricate themselves and retire to Kroonstad.

The latter attempt was hardly successful. Late in April strong detachments were sent to the relief of General Brabant at Wepener, and on April 25th the town of Dewetsdrop, northwest of Wepener, was occupied by General Chermiside, who, it will be remembered, recently supplanted General Gatacre. The Boers to the number of four or five thousand immediately left the vicinity of Wepener and retired north towards Ladybrand, Thaba Nchu and Winburg. About the same time General Ian Hamilton, who had been defending the waterworks twenty miles east of Bloem-

fontein, started east, fighting a sharp battle at Israel's Poort and forming a junction with General French's cavalry division. A joint attack was made, with indifferent success, on the very strong position which a part of Botha's retiring army had taken up at Thaba Nchu. This is on high ground directly between Bloemfontein and Ladybrand. A few days later the Boers retired from Thaba Nchu, joining other forces at Ladybrand.

**The British
Advance**

Although this army might conceivably have been used for a sudden westward strike at the British line of supplies, Lord Roberts did not attempt to capture it but commenced a general forward movement early in May. Already he has swept away all the strong points of Boer resistance in the Orange Free State. The British line of advance was fully forty miles in extent, following the Pretoria railroad as the main trunk line of operations. Brandfort was reached and captured by a three-fold attack on May 3rd. The Vet River, eighteen miles north of Brandfort, was reached on the 5th. Some resistance was met here but quickly overcome, and on the 6th Smaldeel and Winburg were occupied. On the next day 4,000 British cavalry reached the Zand river, sixteen miles beyond Smaldeel; here a considerable battle was fought, the Boers having established a line of defence twenty miles long. Details of this engagement are meager, but by May 10th the Boers were again in full retreat towards Kroonstad. The battle on the Zand was the last serious resistance they have made thus far. It was supposed they would surely make a strong stand at Kroonstad, but a serious dissension arose between the Free State and the Transvaal forces as to the future conduct of the campaign. Nearly all the Free State burghers retired eastward to Heilbron, President Steyn accompanying them, and

this place is the latest Free State capital. The Transvaalers thereupon abandoned Kroonstad and retired north, Lord Roberts entering the town on May 12th. He seems to have made a brief pause here, preparatory to the final march to the Vaal.

Meanwhile Generals Brabant and Rundle had been advancing north from Wepener to engage and hold in check the Free State army at Ladybrand, which place was captured on May 15th, thus removing all danger from that source. In Natal, General Buller has recaptured Dundee and Glencoe, and it is not inconceivable that his army will be brought up for a flank attack on the Boer left, when Lord Roberts is ready to force the Vaal and invade President Kruger's domain.

**Mafeking
Relieved**

Some time ago Lord Roberts despatched General Hunter to the northwest with a strong force of more than twenty thousand, ostensibly for the relief of Mafeking. General Hunter reached the Vaal river at Warrenton, May 4th, joining forces with some of the British columns advancing from Kimberley north. A day or two later he crossed the Vaal and drove the Boers out of Fourteen Streams. It now appears probable that General Hunter will follow up the Vaal river to the east for a flank attack on the Boers who will be defending Johannesburg and Pretoria, for Mafeking no longer requires him. The heroic little garrison under Colonel Baden-Powell was rescued on May 17th by a relief party under Col. Mahon, bringing a large quantity of supplies. These were no doubt welcomed with extravagant demonstrations, for it has been a long time since the town has had anything better than half rations of horseflesh and bran. Col. Baden-Powell's little force has held out since last October, more than 200 days, under almost constant bombardment, and it is no wonder that the

news of his relief has set London and the principal British cities wild with uproarious enthusiasm, continued through several days.

**British Policy
Announced**

At the beginning of the war it was thought possible, at least, that England's peace terms would be control of the foreign relations of the two republics, a liberal franchise law and other internal reforms, and prohibition of further importation of war munitions. For some time it has been growing clear, however, that when the war is over the Orange Free State and Transvaal will be made British colonies, outright. Mr. Chamberlain left no doubt on this point when, in his Birmingham speech of May 11th, he declared that:

"While the government do not wish to be vindictive, they are determined that never again shall the republics be a nursery of conspiracy, and they will see that justice is done to those who are determined to be loyal. The government is not prepared to recognize the independence of the Boer republics (cheers), and we are determined that the republics shall be finally incorporated under the British flag. For an interval they must be a crown colony, such as India is; but we hope they will eventually become a great self governing colony like Canada and Australia."

If this were a case of a highly civilized and progressive republic being wiped out of existence and put back by a powerful despotism like that of Russia, such an outcome as now seems certain in South Africa would be intolerable. In reality, it is a backward and undemocratic oligarchy that is being put beyond the power of any longer retarding the advance of civilization in that quarter of the globe. The name republic will disappear, but if these two little countries are finally organized under a system of government such as Canada or Australia has they will be practically as independent as they are now, with the additional immense advantage of a set of institutions that will really guarantee per-

sonal, civil and religious liberty, such as the Boers have never possessed under their narrow and tyrannical regime.

It is worth noting here that the new form of federated government for Australia, which is on the point of enactment by the British parliament, comes so near granting entire independence that the only strong legal bond remaining is the right of appeal from Australian courts to an imperial court, which, by the way, will be composed of judges drawn from every part of the empire, Australia included.

**The Ecumenical
Conference**

The ecumenical missionary conference held in New York city from April 21st to May 1st inclusive was one of the most remarkable religious gatherings in the history of Christendom. There have been other meetings of the sort, one in Liverpool and two in London, but none on such a scale of magnitude as this. More than 2,500 delegates were present from all parts of the world, representing missionary societies in a dozen different countries. The proceedings were opened and in part presided over by ex-President Harrison, as honorary chairman, and the discussions covered almost every phase and branch of protestant missionary effort throughout the world.

Perhaps the most notable feature of the conference to the lay observer was the shifting of the point of emphasis in regard to the whole proposition of missions. This change, not directly voiced in the addresses, yet spoke louder through the whole proceedings than any other. The main justification for the vast work represented by these delegates was not chiefly based as of old on theological propositions about the future destiny of unconverted heathen, but rested on grounds that finite men are much better entitled to urge with the

authority born of knowledge. Great attention was devoted in all the reports to the social and moral conditions of the people, and the frequently shocking results of the superstitions of savage and barbarous races. The work of the missionary is no longer confined to exhortation and warning; it extends out to the physical, mental and moral conditions *per se*, recognizing that improvement in these lines is necessary to any really effective comprehension and living of a higher order of religious principles. Little centers of civilization are thus started, and both the human interest and spiritual success of the work increases along with its broadening range.

A New
Note

Even more remarkable was the sounding of a note of recognition of elements of truth in all religions. This idea was best presented by Dr. John Henry Barrows, president of Oberlin College, and who, it will be remembered, practically organized the World's Parliament of Religions at the World's Fair in 1893. In his address to the conference Dr. Barrows said:

"Missionaries are keenly alive to the fact that some of the non-Christian faiths are keeping their place in the world because they minister in a measure to some of the needs of the human heart. They are preserved from utter condemnation by the great truths which, amid all errors and perversions, they undoubtedly contain. There is much beauty in Confucian morals. There are Christian elements, if not a Christian spirit, in the Buddhist ethics. Christian theism is not wholly out of touch with the monotheism of Islam, or the pantheism of Hindoo philosophies. . . The non-Christian world sees principally the defects of Christendom. It is predisposed to look leniently upon its own shortcomings. It has not fallen in love with Christianity in some of its manifestations. . . Before there can be an unprejudiced estimate of Christianity, Christendom must clear its skirts of many shams and iniquities."

That this new attitude towards the "heathen" religions, and largely new basis of justification for missions, should be accompanied by such a vast growth

of interest and enthusiasm, refutes better than any wordy argument that solemn old time-worn prophecy that, if ever our theology should let in a ray of hope for the heathen, missions and the reason for missions would drop out of existence.

**Some
Imperialism
Scandals**

President McKinley has made excellent appointments thus far for the principal offices in our new island possessions. There is no disposition anywhere to question this. Therefore, the fact that in spite of these good appointments several flagrant scandals have already developed shows the extreme difficulty we shall have in trying to carry on our type of government among groups of semi-barbarous alien people. It has just recently come to light, for instance, that the commission appointed last year to investigate the beef scandal managed to spend more than \$100,000 in the course of its labors. The itemized account submitted by General John M. Wilson, chief of engineers, one of the members of the commission, shows a lavishness of expenditure that would have been more appropriate for a millionaire family junket around the world. More than \$3,000 is charged for Pullman cars, some \$4,430 for a special train; nearly \$50,000 for services of the members of the commission; thousands upon thousands of dollars for employees, per diem expenses of commissioners, carriage hire, etc., and even such items as funeral expenses of a member of the commission and flowers bought by General Wilson therefor. All the time General Wilson was on the government pay-roll as a brigadier-general, which would seem according to the constitution to debar him of the right to draw pay for other government work at the same time.

More recently it has developed that some one in connection with the postal service in Cuba, presumably

Charles W. Neely, chief of the finance division, has embezzled upwards of \$100,000, while the expenses of minor army officials and others in the Cuban administration have been mounting up at a tremendous rate. Inspectors appointed by Postmaster-General Smith have gone to Havana to make a thorough investigation, and on May 16th the postmaster of Havana and deputy auditor of Cuba and two Cuban clerks were placed under arrest. The extent of the stealing that may be revealed is of course a matter for conjecture, but it is certain the bottom of the scandal has not yet been reached.

At the same time it is noteworthy that bribery and various scandalous performances have been so flagrant in some parts of the Philippines under our control that General Otis found it necessary last November to issue a special order to army officers concerning these grave abuses. In this order General Otis said: "The evil, corrupting and far reaching in its effects, appears to have reached a stage which renders its suppression with a strong hand imperative." The complaints apply to the local governments we have been trying to set up in the subjugated portions of Luzon.

**Porto Rico
Franchises and
Government**

A better regime seems assured for Porto Rico. Promptly after the passage of the law providing for a tariff and system of government, it became so manifest that the island was to be fairly overrun with seekers for offices and privileges that congress passed another measure, which became a law April 30th, specifying the conditions under which franchises should be granted. Under this law all railroad, street railway, telegraph and telephone privileges must be approved by the president of the United States, must be subject to amendment or repeal, must forbid the issue of stock or bonds except in ex-

change for actual cash or property, must forbid the declaring of stock or bond dividends, must provide for regulation of the charges for service by public corporations, etc. This law will be a great protection against corruption in Porto Rico. An additional safeguard is afforded by the appointment as governor of Porto Rico of Charles H. Allen, who succeeded Governor Roosevelt two years ago as assistant secretary of the navy. Governor Allen was inaugurated on May 1st, and is succeeded in the navy department by Frank W. Hackett, who has been connected with the navy since 1862.

**Renewed Philip-
pine Warfare**

It is only two or three weeks since General Otis assured us for the twentieth time that the Philippine rebellion was "practically over," and word came that Aguinaldo had been killed by the Igorottis. Hardly was time allowed for enthusiasm to get under way when information followed that Aguinaldo was very much alive and had raised a new army in the north of Luzon. At the same time rebellion broke out again in the island of Panay, and a company of our soldiers of the 26th Infantry was surrounded and narrowly escaped annihilation. Four were killed and sixteen badly wounded and left on the field. Guerrilla warfare has been renewed in several quarters in Luzon, and in truth we seem no nearer ultimate success than at any time within the last six months. With more than 60,000 American soldiers on our expense roll in the Philippines all the time, we do not seem to have nearly enough force to hold the civilized portions of the islands and establish local governments, to say nothing of following up the natives into the mountain strongholds and wiping out the insurrection by extermination.

**Senator Hoar's
Plan**

It is a relief to turn from this deplorable sacrifice of life and treasure to Senator Hoar's masterly address of April 17th, pointing out the needlessness of this war and offering a series of suggestions which in the main are logical and probably a more feasible way of restoring peace and settling the problem than force. Senator Hoar's propositions were these:

"I would declare now that we will not take these islands to govern them against their will.

"I would reject a cession of sovereignty which implies that sovereignty may be bought and sold and delivered without the consent of the people.

"I would require all foreign governments to keep out of these islands.

"I would offer to the people of the Philippines our help in maintaining order until they have a reasonable opportunity to establish a government of their own.

"I would aid them by advice, if they desire it, to set up a free and independent government.

"I would invite all the great powers of Europe to unite in an agreement that that independence shall not be interfered with.

"I would declare that the United States will enforce the same doctrine as applicable to the Philippines that we declared as to Mexico and Hayti and the South American republics.

"I would then, in a not distant future, leave them to work out their own salvation, as every nation on earth, from the beginning of time, has wrought out its own salvation."

There is nothing visionary in this program, nothing unpatriotic; it would be strictly in line with fundamental American principles. It would simply apply to the Philippines the policy we have adopted towards Cuba, and it would probably end the warfare, leaving us with all the "foothold" advantages we shall need to support our interests in the eastern question. Senator Hoar's speech, by the way, while open to criticism on some points of abstract political philosophy, was in many respects the greatest effort that has been made in the United States senate within a generation. It challenges comparison in point of eloquence, logic

and far-reaching importance of subject-matter with some of the great constitutional orations of the Webster-Calhoun era.

Political
Conventions

Three candidates have already been put in the field. Eugene V. Debs comes first, on the socialist ticket, with a platform as strongly anti-Bryan as anti-McKinley, invoking in fact "A plague on both your houses!" On May 10th both wings of the populist party held conventions, the fusionists at Sioux Falls and the middle-of-the-road wing at Cincinnati. The fusionists nominated Mr. Bryan on a platform denouncing imperialism, trusts and the gold standard, declaring sympathy for the Boers, demanding free trade on all trust products, the initiative and referendum, public control of railroads and telegraphs, and the free coinage of silver at 16 to 1.

At Cincinnati the straight-line populists nominated Wharton Barker for president and Ignatius Donnelly for vice-president, on a platform demanding the initiative and referendum, public ownership of railroads, telegraphs and telephones, fiat paper currency, a graduated income tax, direct election of president, vice-president, federal judges and senators, denouncing trusts, and favoring free coinage at 16 to 1. Mr. Barker, who is the editor of the *American* (Philadelphia), expects to poll at least one million votes (*sic!*) and thus defeat Bryan, thereby rescuing populism from the ruinous fusion policy.

Meanwhile republican conventions have been held in numerous states, notably New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Iowa, Massachusetts and Illinois, all declaring strongly for President McKinley's renomination and upholding his policy *in toto*. The state campaign in Illinois, by the way, promises to be unusually interesting. It is most gratifying that the republicans have

succeeded in freeing themselves of the odium of questionable machine leadership. The nominee for governor is Judge Richard Yates, son and namesake of the famous war governor of Illinois, a man of unsullied reputation, progressive and vigorous characteristics. This lifts Illinois politics to a distinctly higher plane, and ought to compel the nomination by the democrats of an exceptionally good man, if any hope is entertained of defeating Judge Yates.

**The Quay and
Clark Cases**

The senate has been making a mighty effort to rid itself of undesirable elements, and within the last month has achieved at least a partial success. The long drawn-out struggle over the case of Senator Quay came to an end on April 24th, when his credentials were rejected by a vote of 33 to 32. This establishes the principle that a governor cannot appoint a senator to fill a vacancy caused by the failure of the legislature to elect.

Much more serious is the case of Senator Clark of Montana, the objection to whom is based on charges of flagrant corruption in securing his election. The senate committee on privileges and elections reported on April 23d that these charges were well founded and recommended that Senator Clark's seat be declared vacant. On May 15th, before the senate had reached the point of formally adopting this report, as it was certain to do, Senator Clark arose and made a long personal statement, defending his conduct throughout the case and ending by reading a letter to the governor of Montana, dated May 11th, in which he resigned his seat in the senate. The senator spoke with a great show of sincerity and defended his personal integrity with much emotion, arousing no little sympathy among his colleagues. What was the astonishment and indignation of the senate next morning to learn that acting

Governor Spriggs of Montana had appointed Senator Clark to fill out the vacancy caused by his resignation. On all hands this is regarded as a cheap political trick, worked up in advance, taking advantage of the absence of the Governor of Montana from the state and intended to forestall the action of the senate declaring the seat vacant. Whatever sympathy there may have existed for Senator Clark, with this revelation it is probable the senate will declare that Mr. Clark was never elected, thereby nullifying the resignation and of course the re-appointment as well. If it does not do this, it may actually expel Senator Clark by a two-thirds vote, which would be entirely warranted by the insult he has offered that body. Meanwhile, Governor Smith has returned to Montana, declared the Spriggs appointment void, and named Martin Maginnis successor to Senator Clark. Whether Mr. Clark will present his snap appointment to the senate and thus force the issue remains to be seen.

**Chicago Labor
Troubles**

Organized labor clearly believes in "striking" while the iron is hot. In other words, the workingmen realize that a prosperous era is the time of times for demand-higher pay and shorter hours. Critics of the unions, however, never seem able to fix any time when a strike is opportune. If it comes during hard times they exclaim: "What fools; they are certain to lose, why don't they wait until business is good!" Then when business does become good and the laborers seize the opportunity to demand a share in the prosperity, the comment is: "What short-sighted folly, to interrupt business and inconvenience the whole public just when delays and interruptions are most expensive to all concerned."

A strike of machinists for the nine-hour day is on

in several cities. In Chicago for some weeks there has been a strike in the building trades, with many really serious aspects. The dispute does not hinge primarily on the question of wages or hours, but relates largely to several minor questions, such as the amount of work each man shall do, the use of non-union material, etc. Nearly 50,000 men are out, and there have been many cases of violent interference with non-union workers. More than this, it is asserted that the city is being practically held up by fraudulent claims for damages amounting to over \$250,000, presented by the labor unions, and that it is impossible to get a jury to indict anybody for criminal conspiracy in connection with these claims because of labor-union "terrorism."

**St. Louis Street
Railway Strike**

Since May 8th St. Louis has been the scene of a labor war of extreme acrimony, characterized by almost constant violence. Almost all of the 3,600 street railway employees went on strike, and attempts to run cars have resulted in riots and brick-throwing. Passengers have been injured, and at least once the police have been obliged to fire directly into the crowd. The strikers demand the right of conference and arbitration on all disputes, which is just; but other of their demands, that the company shall compel all its employees to join the union, and shall suspend any employees without pay who may be suspended by the union, etc., exceed the economic limits of trade-union influence and action. Such rules, if adopted, would open the door to intolerable abuses.

Both the Chicago and St. Louis instances are furnishing texts for severe denunciations in the press. It cannot be denied that a labor union, once endowed with very large power, can be about as tyrannical and arbitrary as any human organization, especially if actu-

ated by the spirit of bitterness and revenge. For this spirit, it must not be forgotten however, the policy of injunctions against strikers and refusal to recognize and treat with union representatives must be held largely responsible. Violence, rioting and arbitrary attempts to run the employer's business cannot be defended on any economic or ethical ground, but American laborers are not natural-born anarchists, and when these outbreaks occur we may be sure there is provocation somewhere of a peculiarly exasperating nature.

**Examples of Wise
Labor Policy**

Standing out in violent contrast to the policy of "fight it out at any cost" we have some recent instances of economic wisdom, such as the action of the Standard Oil Company in voluntarily increasing the wages of its more than 30,000 workingmen, and at the same time reducing their working time one hour. A simultaneous increase of wages and reduction of hours is unprecedented, but it is a sure sign of the economic sense which forestalls labor troubles by recognizing the natural and proper desire of labor to share in the advancing prosperity and wealth of the community.

There are other conspicuous instances of wage increases of recent date. The Berwind-White Coal Company, one of the largest soft coal firms in Pennsylvania, has advanced the wages of 12,000 employees about 20 per cent., and the National Tube Company has granted a 10 per cent. increase to 20,000 men, which is the second 10 per cent. increase within six months. A recent number of the *Railroad Trainmen's Journal* shows the adoption of satisfactory wage scales and increases on more than twenty important railroad systems in this country within the last year.

As an illustration of wise policy in cases where the dispute has passed into a strike, a very notable case has

lately occurred on the New York Central system at Buffalo. The car repairers employed by that company, although many of them had within sixty days received an increase of wages, went on a strike late in April for a further increase. Instead of arbitrarily refusing to consult with the strikers about the merits of the case, the Central's superintendent of motive power went to Buffalo on purpose to meet and confer with a committee of the men. This reasonable and enlightened policy yielded the good results that it can almost always be counted upon to do. It proved that when laborers are treated with respect and their unions recognized, dealings with them can be as satisfactory and honorable as between any so-called "business men," and with no more danger of violence. A wage scale was agreed upon which gave the men nearly all they asked, while on the other hand they conceded points which it appeared the company could not consistently grant. The superintendent of motive power stated after the conference that: "In some cases the rate of increase over the original pay previous to March 16th is in the vicinity of 40 per cent., in other cases it is only 10 or 12. It was clearly understood between myself and the committee that the company would always be ready to give a hearing to any committee of its employees that the men might select on any grievance that may arise. If at such meeting they wish to have an advisor who is not an employee there will be no objection to that, but the company will deal with its employees directly."

Evidently wisdom has been learned since the great Central strike of a decade ago, fought in large part on exactly this issue of recognition and conference.

WHAT CAN THE PAN-AMERICAN CONGRESS ACCOMPLISH?

WILLIAM ELEROY CURTIS

Another conference of the American republics is called to meet in the City of Mexico between May and October 1901. The first was held in Panama in 1825, having been called by Simon Bolivar for the purpose of negotiating a defensive alliance against Spain and the aggressions of other European powers in the American hemisphere, and to make a declaration of the policy to be pursued by the new Spanish-American republics towards each other and the rest of the world. In addition Bolivar proposed plans of arbitration to settle differences between the American nations, to define the boundaries between the new republics, to suppress the slave trade, to aid in securing the independence of Cuba and Porto Rico, and to define the relations between the other American republics and Haiti and Santo Domingo, which were inhabited almost entirely by colored people against whom a social and political prejudice prevailed.

An epidemic of yellow fever cut short the deliberations of this conference. Five years later it was invited to reconvene in Mexico, but for some reason did not. In 1838, and again in '39 and '40, the invitations were repeated without effect. In 1847 five of the South American republics held a conference at Lima and negotiated a treaty of confederation. In 1864 and 1878 Peru made other attempts to bring the nations

together, but few attended and nothing was accomplished. The project was renewed in 1880 by Colombia, in 1882 by the United States, and in 1887 by Uruguay, but was not successful until 1889 when all of the American nations except Santo Domingo assembled by delegates at Washington at the invitation of the United States.

Now it is proposed to hold another conference, and Mexico is to be the host. The United States has taken the initiative and has forwarded invitations to the other republics, but it will meet them on even terms and have no greater authority or power than Paraguay or Santo Domingo.

Each nation may send as many delegates as it pleases, but will be entitled to only one vote. It is presumed that the rules of the conference of '89 will be adopted, as they were generally satisfactory. The program of topics to be considered will not be arranged until all of the governments have been heard from. A circular inviting suggestions has been forwarded to each, but it may be expected that the principal questions left unsettled by the conference of '89 will be renewed, the most important being a plan of arbitration for the settlement of differences between the American nations and a permanent method of determining claims for damages brought by the citizens of one country against another.

The Latin-American countries admit foreigners to the civil rights enjoyed by natives, and at the same time impose upon them the same obligations and responsibilities. This, however, has never been conceded by the United States or the European governments and is a cause of constant irritation. When a native of one of the southern republics suffers in person or property from a revolutionary movement or from the government in time of emergency, he has no re-

dress, but foreigners always claim indemnity. Hence our ministers at the capitals of those countries always have on hand claims of more or less merit. The superior power of the United States offers a temptation to adventurers to abuse our hospitality, and foreigners who intend to do wrong or expect to suffer losses sometimes come to the United States long enough to secure naturalization papers in order that they may seek an asylum here in time of trouble or engage our minister as their attorney in case they decide to sue for damages.

Here is an example to the point: Five Polish Jews, brothers, emigrated to a catholic country in South America and applied the proverbial skill and energy of their race in the transaction of business. They soon found that religious prejudice and indifference to business obligations on the part of their neighbors threatened to involve them in trouble, and, having no reason to expect the protection of Russia, they came one by one to a city in Pennsylvania where they had relatives and resided there at brief intervals until they obtained naturalization papers. They complied with the letter of the law, but committed perjury when they made oath that they intended to become citizens of the United States. With these naturalization papers they returned to South America one after another till the whole family were thus prepared to seek the protection of our government whenever necessary. The occasion came about a year ago. By their exactions in business matters, by their enterprise, and because of personal characteristics for which nature is responsible, this family became very unpopular in the community where they lived. They amassed wealth, acquired commercial supremacy in a large district, and their debtors included nearly every man of importance in a wide range of territory. Their unpopularity increased un

til a revolutionary movement was inaugurated by a discontented politician in that locality, and, when he called upon his neighbors for financial assistance, they told him to go to the five brothers and get money from them. This suggestion was adopted with energy and the only one of the brothers who happened to be at home was not only robbed of arms and money but was subjected to torture and other personal indignities. It was a sort of a "white-cap" movement, and furnished an opportunity for several neighbors in disguise to gratify their hatred of the Hebrews. The brother who suffered proclaimed himself a citizen of the United States and filed with our minister a claim against the government under which he lives for \$500,000 damages, although he was finally induced to reduce it to \$100,000, and has offered a contingent interest of fifty per cent. of all that he recovers to an attorney who is pressing the case.

The man is no more a citizen of the United States than he was before he left Poland, but, having unlawfully obtained naturalization papers he expects our government to collect the money and make an enemy of a weaker nation who wants to be our friend.

Such claims are the cause of constant irritation, and furnish ground for the allegation that we bully our weaker sister republics when we ought to assist and encourage them. To have a permanent court to adjudicate them on their merits, instead of demanding payment with a ship of war, would be not only advisable but just.

The most important result of the conference of 1889 was the interest it excited among the people of the United States in the affairs of their southern neighbors and a more cordial feeling was the outgrowth of that interest. The excursion given in honor of the delegates, taking them 9,000 miles in a special

train to visit all the great cities of the north and accept their hospitality, did more to promote friendly relations than any formal action of the conference, although several important recommendations have since been carried out. The survey for an intercontinental railway has been completed and valuable and voluminous reports have been submitted to the various governments. The Bureau of American Republics was promptly established at Washington, and has demonstrated its usefulness; uniform sanitary regulations have been adopted by nearly all the nations; extradition treaties have been concluded by all but two; the free navigation of all rivers has been acknowledged; treaties have been concluded and legislation enacted by most of the nations for the protection of patents and trade marks; a uniform code of nomenclature, prepared by the Bureau of American Republics, has been adopted, and several other matters of less importance have been adjusted as direct results of the conference.

Among other new topics for the conference of 1901, already suggested, are uniform quarantine regulations, which are generally assented to by all nations but require concert of action. It would be well, also, to settle a long controversy concerning the recognition of university diplomas by other governments than those in which they are located. This is important to physicians and dentists particularly. The diplomas of the medical schools of the United States are not recognized in the South American countries because quacks and imposters prohibited from practice in this country have gone there with professional diplomas from fictitious institutions. The universities in most of the Latin-American countries have high standards and are much more careful in conferring degrees than many institutions in the United States. Through their influence diplomas from all North American universities are re-

jected and foreigners are required to pass rigid examinations in which they are often handicapped by professional jealousies and local considerations. It would be comparatively easy to secure an agreement under which the diplomas of certain universities in all of the countries might be recognized without question.

It is also important to reach some understanding as to the rights of commercial travellers and to conclude treaties for their protection against the extortionate fees often imposed by local authorities. In some countries a drummer is compelled to take out a license in every town he visits, for which he must pay an excessive tax. This is not only a great inconvenience, but an onerous and unjust embargo upon commerce. In certain countries drummers are required to obtain licenses from the state as well as from the municipal authorities, and if they attempt to take orders or even show samples without them they are liable to a heavy fine or imprisonment. This practice is defended on the ground that, as local tradesmen in those countries are required to pay taxes and take out licenses, foreigners should not be exempt, and the authorities of each municipality need the revenue. It might be arranged, however, to allow drummers to obtain a single license from the national or state government which would carry with it the right to trade in all the provinces and municipalities.

The greatest good, however, that can come from international conference is the interchange of hospitality and personal association among the delegates. If we could remove suspicion from the minds of the leading men in South America as to the sincerity of our disposition towards them, it would be beneficial to both sides, and these conferences can do much in that direction. But the cause of the greatest distrust can only be removed by the adoption of a consistent policy on

the part of our government. When Mr. Cleveland came into power for the first time he revoked everything President Arthur had done towards the extension of our commerce and the cultivation of better relations with the southern countries. When Gen. Harrison became president and Mr. Blaine went back into the department of state, the policy of President Arthur was resumed with most encouraging signs until Mr. Cleveland with a rude hand again overthrew all that had been done and practically gave notice to the southern republics that we did not want their friendship or their trade.

We invited them to a conference in 1889 to discuss matters of mutual importance and to promote mutual welfare. One of the most important topics under consideration was reciprocity in trade, and with a great deal of enthusiasm we entered into negotiations under which concessions in tariff duties were made between the United States and most of our sister republics. Assuming that we were in earnest their merchants and planters prepared themselves to secure the largest benefits possible from the new arrangement, and their governments took the trouble to adjust their revenue systems to meet the changed conditions. But the reciprocity treaties were in force only long enough to demonstrate their great value to them and to us when our congress by legislative enactment revoked every one of them, without even saying "by your leave." Each of these commercial arrangements contained a clause providing for its termination after due notice and by certain procedure, but congress ignored these provisions and cancelled a series of sacred contracts in a manner that would have justified a judicial injunction if the transactions had occurred between private individuals.

When Mr. McKinley became president and the

republicans recovered control of congress, they made overtures of friendship, but the southern republics at once detected our insincerity. In the Dingley tariff law a provision was inserted for the negotiation of reciprocity treaties upon terms that were impractical and absurd. By this action the republican leaders expected to please the other American nations on the one side and prevent the reduction of the protection enjoyed by favored industries at the same time. Nevertheless, with great skill and patience, the diplomatic representatives of our government succeeded in negotiating limited commercial treaties with the Argentine Republic and the British West Indies. No other of the republics would consider a reciprocity treaty after the way they had been treated in 1894. But the wool growers of Ohio threatened to vote the democratic ticket if the duty on Argentine wool was reduced from eleven to nine cents a pound. Hence the republicans in the senate dared not ratify the treaty. Similar threats on the part of the beet-sugar growers prevented the ratification of the treaties with the West Indian colonies, and the republicans in congress placed themselves in the position of the politician in Iowa who frankly confessed that he was in favor of the enactment of a prohibition law but he was opposed to its enforcement. The republicans, by their national platforms, their speeches, and their resolutions are in favor of the principle of reciprocity in trade with the southern republics, but are opposed to its application.

Our insincerity and inconsistency and selfishness in this respect have become well understood by the ruling minds of the southern republics. They have more sentiment than we and are more inclined to be governed by sentimental reasons in their political and commercial relations, but their pride has been wounded and their faith has been shaken so often that hereafter they

will consider their own interests just as we consider ours, right or wrong.

The South Americans are a little shy about appealing to that great American principle known as the Monroe doctrine, because our foreign policy, particularly concerning them, as I have described, has not been characterized with such sincerity and unselfishness as to command their entire confidence. There are two classes of people in South America,—two political parties, the conservatives and the liberals. The conservatives, as their title indicates, are opposed to progress and modern innovations, and are controlled by the catholic church, which in South America abhors North American institutions. It opposes free schools and all secular education; it resists the emancipation of women and the advancement of the laboring classes. On the other hand the liberals encourage every new idea and desire to initiate our institutions, although at times their faith is sorely tried. The conservatives take advantage of every disagreeable incident to prejudice public opinion against the United States, and the recent acquisition of territory has afforded them an opportunity of crying, “I told you so.” They have long argued that “*La Grande Republica*” intended sooner or later to extend its sovereignty over the entire hemisphere, so when we took Porto Rico and the Philippines and assumed a protectorate over Cuba they proclaimed that it was the first step in the march of conquest southward.

The approaching conference in Mexico offers the United States an opportunity to allay these apprehensions, and to confirm the faith of our friends and supporters in the southern republics by declaring a liberal, friendly and permanent policy to govern our future relations with them. They have a right to know what to expect from us. We are the elder brother in the great

family of nations, and the rest look to us for example, encouragement and consolation.

The policy of reciprocity in trade should either be abandoned entirely because it conflicts with some of the interests protected by our tariff, or else it should be carried out in good faith. It is useless for the republican party to make further pretensions on this subject. If the majority in congress desires to promote our trade with the southern republics, it should give the president broad and complete authority to arrange for an exchange of concessions with an idea of securing the greatest good for the greatest number, but if the manufacturers of cheap jewelry in Providence, the wool-growers of Ohio, and the sugar beet manufacturers of Nebraska are to dictate the terms of our export trade that fact should be frankly and honestly stated.

It ought to be proclaimed from the housetops that the government of the United States will not afford an asylum for Europeans, residents of South America, who seek the protection of our naturalization laws, and that no claims for damages against one of our sister republics shall be presented by our diplomatic agents unless the claimant is a native of this country and actually resides here. And what is more important is the proclamation by the United States as a principle of international policy that the political and geographical integrity of the American republics shall be preserved and protected.

PARTY POLICIES FOR 1900

During the next five months two great political parties will make their appeal to the American people to be entrusted with the responsibility of shaping the policy and administering the affairs of the nation during the first four years of the twentieth century. There are two standpoints from which a party may be judged, its conduct in the past and its promises for the future. The promises of parties like individuals can be trusted only in proportion as they are fortified by habit, character and conduct. While the confidence in the character of the party is drawn from the past, the real interest and hope of the nation is in the future. Therefore the people want to know not merely what the party has done but also what it proposes to do.

As the nation progresses new and varied interests arise demanding public attention. It is the function of statesmanship so to modify and if needs be expand the national policy that it shall include all the varied interests of the nation. Of course new demands usually appear in their crudest form, yet, however crude and seemingly hostile, every new proposition usually contains some element of truth and merit. In the nature of things these new problems arise chiefly from the differentiation of industrial interests, hence the new problems are largely of an industrial character and arise among the farmers and laboring class. They usually seem antagonistic because they are new and different and are presented from the grievance point of view of the reformer. Merely to ignore or bluntly oppose these new propositions, although crudely and often mistakenly presented, is to intensify hostile feeling and increase the irrational character of demands

which have at the bottom a rational cause for a hearing. How to pick out the kernels of truth from the bushels of husks and integrate them into the public policy of the nation at the point of common affinity with the national interests is the duty of party organization and sound political leadership.

The confidence and support of the masses should be, and in a large measure probably will be, given to the respective political parties in the coming election, in proportion as they wisely take advance ground on these new interests and intelligently, not demagogically, incorporate them in their plan of public policy.

How stands the democratic party? The last time it was entrusted with the administration of affairs it disrupted our industries, demoralized our finances and involved the nation in one of the most disastrous periods of its history. The modern democratic party has little commendable to offer as a certificate of past conduct. The only basis of its appeal for support is its promises for the future, and in the light of experience these must necessarily be taken with a large increment of reserve. Its promises must necessarily be very strong in political wisdom, economic soundness and social attractiveness. They must make up in this scientific soundness and plausibility what they lack in historic, characterful endorsement. The position and candidate of the democratic party are already known. Ever since 1896 Mr. Bryan has been continuously before the public as the active embodiment of the party, its official spokesman; he has formulated its ideas and substantially determined its policy as it will be expressed in the platform. The three essential features of the democratic policy, as voiced by Mr. Bryan and which will doubtless be confirmed by the convention, are anti-expansion, anti-trusts and the free coinage of silver at 16 to 1. There will doubtless be a number of other

things mentioned in the platform but these are the cardinal points. Anti-expansion and anti-trusts are negative propositions. They contain nothing constructive or affirmatively helpful. Granting that expansion is a mistake, declaring against it after it is accomplished is merely impotent resolving. There is nothing important the democratic party can now do about it. We cannot suddenly withdraw from the Philippines nor give up Porto Rico; even Mr. Bryan does not pretend that he would try. The only thing that the democrats could or would be likely to do is to make them into territories and hurry them into line for statehood, and endanger the stability of our institutions by adding the people of Hawaii, Porto Rico and the Philippines to our voting population.

Opposition to trusts has still less merit than opposition to expansion. That is a proposition which has neither statesmanship nor economic sagacity behind it. It is one of the crude "half-baked" propositions which are useful to ornament market-place oratory, but have no place in a serious responsible public policy. "Anti-trusts" as represented by Mr. Bryan is simply an elastic phrase which has no meaning. Mr. Bryan has in all his speeches given no evidence that the anti-trust idea rests upon any feasible proposition or even that it is to be taken seriously as a tenet of responsible public policy.

The one thing upon which he is definite and from which he insists the democratic party will not swerve to the right or to the left is the free coinage of silver. Mr. Bryan knows what 16 to 1 is. He knows that it was the one idea which made him a presidential possibility and which carried him so near the goal of success; it was the one plank that held him up and he is determined that it shall not be deserted, although in the estimation of everybody else, with the possible exception

of Mr. Towne and a part of the populists, it is a dead issue.

In this program there is nothing which can carry relief to the farmers or improve the conditions of the laborers, nothing which will ease the pressure of their toil or increase their income, nothing indeed which even looks seriously in that direction. Some general phrases in this regard will doubtless be inserted in the platform, but they will stand unsupported by any act of the democratic party in the past or any utterances of its candidate during his four years of vacation and training. They will be purely promises unrelated to anything in the character, history or political philosophy of the party.

The case of the republican party is somewhat different. During the last thirty years it has very much more historical evidence of definite character to present. It has also been responsible for the administration and policy since 1896, and the contrast in the nation's prosperity with that under the previous administration speaks for itself. With the exception of 1892, the last year of the previous republican administration, the period of 1899-1900 has no parallel in the country's experience for prosperity and business expansion. While the wisdom of the republican expansion policy may well be a matter of controversy, its domestic, industrial and financial policy are an unquestioned success. In these respects the United States now leads the world. In stability and world credit our financial conditions have no superiors and in industrial prosperity and growth we have no equals. This much the republican party has in its favor.

But with this progress new conditions have arisen, new difficulties have asserted themselves, new grievances have developed which make new problems to be solved. How stands the republican party on

these new questions? Is it equal to the leadership of an advanced public policy, broad enough and yet conservative enough rationally to include these questions? This duty naturally and properly belongs to the republican party; it is not hidebound with any cast-iron theory which precludes the absorption of new ideas and adoption of new policy. Its history has been one of elasticity and progress; with numerous mistakes, of course, but to make no mistakes is to make little progress. It may therefore consistently take the responsibility of dealing with the new questions that the progress of the last half century and its own policy have created. More is expected of the republican party than of the democratic in this respect, because it has done more in the past. Its success in the future depends upon living up to its own record, in being true to its own history.

Recognition of the interests of the farmer does not mean the acceptance of populism, which is the inflammation phase of a reform movement. What the farmers really need is not a depreciated currency, public ownership of railroads and the suppression of corporations. They need an increasing market for their products, cheap transportation and cheap loan accommodations. The first can be secured only by promoting the prosperity of all other industries; the second by the economic development of our railroad system, which can only come concurrently with national prosperity; and the third by furnishing better banking methods affording greater elasticity to our paper currency.

The wageworkers also have special interests which need consideration and should become a part of the national policy. The great principle of protection, which is a cardinal doctrine of the republican party, ought to be effectively applied directly to the interests of laborers as well as of capitalists. To this end effect-

ive restriction of immigration should be made a pronounced part of our national policy.

It is a part of the theory of our form of government and especially of the republican party that the conditions of the laboring classes should improve commensurately with the progress of the nation. The general improvement of the wage class must always ultimately come through a general rise of wages. It is useless to talk about a higher social standard which does not bring with it a permanent high wage rate. The opportunities for general increase of wages are periodic, they come only with the periods of general prosperity. Unless the laborers can secure a general increase of wages, shorter hours or other advantages during the period of prosperity they are almost sure not to get them at all.

We are now in the midst of one of the greatest periods of prosperity this country has ever seen. It is not merely fair and humane but it is of the utmost importance to national welfare that a part of the present prosperity should be permanently transferred to the laborers; in other words, that this era of industrial expansion and exceptional prosperity should permanently lift the standard of living among the masses in the United States. In order to make this possible, through the natural operation of economic causes, it is necessary materially to restrict the tide of immigration. So long as the influx of the cheapest labor of Europe is practically unimpeded, the natural pressure upon the capitalists in this country for distribution of part of the present gains among the laborers through higher wages is largely nullified.

The tide of immigration is now setting in, in greatly increased magnitude. It will have the double disadvantage of defeating the natural operation of economic law as to wages of American labor, flooding our cities with low-paid squalor-creating laborers who

fill our tenement rookeries and perpetuate our sweat-shop system in spite of wholesome legislation against it, tending to keep down wages and lower our social standards of living, besides furnishing one of the most dangerously corruptible elements in our politics. Immigration should be arrested during this period of prosperity. The capitalists should not be permitted indiscriminately to reach out for the low-paid labor of Europe, but should be obliged to employ American labor at American wages.

It should be a part of the economic policy of a nation also that progress in the improved methods of production should be accompanied by a general and permanent shortening of the working day for the laborers. The development of greater and more complex organization among capitalists should bring with it as a part of public policy the recognition and encouragement of intelligent, rational, responsible organization among the laborers. The tendency of the courts narrowly to interpret the theory of injunction so as to prevent the organized action of laborers while encouraging the organized action of capitalists, should be specifically condemned, and the recognition of the equality of organized labor and organized capital before the law should be pronounced and emphatic.

The principle of insurance, which is one of the features of modern life among the well-to-do class, should be extended to the wage class. With every advance in machinery and superior organization, the efficiency of labor is reduced to a finer and more concise quantity. The tendency is more and more to discharge laborers at the age of sixty and earlier by the very force of dislocation through improved machinery. This discharge should be anticipated in the conditions of the industrial system itself. It is nothing the

laborers can prevent, it is nothing that capitalists can avoid, it is necessarily a part of the situation which large capital and rapid invention create; it is a condition with which the public policy of the nation should deal. It is another case for the application of the principle of protection to the wageworkers, not in the form of tariffs or charity but of economic insurance. It is a part of wise public policy and high statesmanship to see that under no conditions in this country shall corporations pursue profit-making industry at the expense of the education, physical health and morality of the laborers, nor under conditions that shall bring premature old age and enforced idleness and dependence in the declining years of the average industrious citizen.

To be sure, these questions relate to special interests, interests of limited groups of people, but they are also of common interest to the nation. The health, education and social welfare of the laboring class is as important in the long run to the national character and welfare as the prosperity of the capitalists or the protection of the nation against a foreign foe. The economic and social significance of these questions demands that they be treated as a part of the development of national conditions, and not as the whims and notions of agitators. To broaden the public policy so as rationally to integrate their treatment into the institutional action of the nation is manifestly the duty of the republican party. It is in accord with its history, its character and its pretensions. This is its grand opportunity. If it will rise to the level of the occasion and in the closing campaign of the century take its position on the broader platform and higher plane which its own policy has created it will be the real leader of the nation's progress—not of the manufacturers and merchants, not of the bankers and importers, not of capitalists and financiers merely, but of the integrated interests of the whole nation.

THE ICE TRUST OUTRAGE

In the so-called "trust" organizations during the last fifteen months a few cases have occurred where the reorganization, absorbing a large number of small concerns, has been used unfairly to bleed the community by an arbitrary and unnecessary rise of prices. The fact that a few have done this has created in the public mind the belief that all do it, and that these so-called trusts are the common enemy of public welfare. A conspicuous and scandalous example of this method is the New York "ice trust," so called. The American Ice Company is not a trust but it is a concern which has recently consolidated by absorption nearly all the ice companies in New York city. In 1898 and 1899 the price of ice in New York city was twenty-five and thirty cents a hundred pounds. On the first of May, 1900, the consolidated American Ice Company put up the price to sixty cents a hundred. For this rise of price no economic reason can be given. It is a case of simply having the power to exact double price and inflict hardship on the people of New York the coming summer. If any suspicion of this move had existed three months ago, new ice companies would have come into existence to supply the market, because the profits are fabulous.

There has been an outcry against the rise of prices in many industries, but in nearly all cases there has been an economic cause for it in the rise of the cost of raw material and all the processes of handling and marketing, but none of this is true of ice. On the contrary the manufactured ice, which is preferred to lake and river ice because it is cleaner, is produced at a lower cost, and the cost of distribution of the ice to cus-

tomers is in no wise increased. The simple fact is that this arbitrary doubling of the price of ice in New York city is a violent and unscrupulous outrage on the public.

It is true that the Hudson river ice crop this year was much smaller than last, but a large amount was held over from the ice crop of last year and the manufacture of ice can be greatly increased without any increase of cost per unit. Moreover, there is no difficulty in getting ice from Maine and other places where the crop was abundant at \$2 a ton, or less than twelve cents a hundred pounds delivered in New York. If the combination had raised the price to forty cents a hundred on the excuse that "Jack Frost" did not do as good duty on the Hudson river this winter as last it would have been an imposition but it might not have raised the ire of the public. The people can be fooled for a while if the fooling is skilfully done, but when it is bunglingly performed so that the motive of "stand and deliver" is obvious the indignation becomes intense. In this respect the American Ice Company is a bungling bungler.

It is manifest that the American Ice Company is not one of the legitimate concentrations which have used their increased capital to improve the quality and reduce the price of their product, but it is an industrial conspiracy against the community, which uses its organized power neither to improve the quality or reduce the price of the product but simply to control the supply and extort double prices from the public. This is the kind of performance that creates an anti-trust and anti-capital public sentiment. All the anti-trust and restrictive legislation against capital and the public suspicion of corporations has been created by this kind of policy on the part of a few hoggish owners of capital who understood neither the principles of industrial growth, honest business methods, nor the relation of

industry to public interests. Happily this type of capitalists are few in number, but they have been numerous enough to bring discredit on their class. Like the promoters of corners and "Miller syndicates" their success is always brief and usually ends in disaster. This unbusinesslike and impolitic as well as unjust conduct of the American Ice Company has set in motion forces that will probably sweep that concern off its feet.

What makes this ice conspiracy appear in a still worse light is the fact that it turns out to be a quasi-political scheme. The American Ice Company is not merely in league with Tammany Hall but all the leading spirits of Tammany are heavy stockholders in the concern, and have manifestly acquired their stock for political aid rendered. For instance, Mayor Van Wyck owns \$400,000 worth of this American Ice Company stock; his brother Augustus Van Wyck owns \$400,000 worth. John F. Carroll (in the absence of Croker the Tammany leader) has \$500,000; J. Sergeant Cram, president of the board of dock commissioners, \$50,000; Dock Commissioner Murphy \$50,000 and so on. It might be interesting to inquire what these politicians paid for their stock, and if they paid par value in cash for these holdings where they got the money. For instance, where did Mayor Van Wyck get \$400,000? It could hardly have been saved from his salary as judge or mayor; it is not known that he was ever the recipient of a fortune by legacy. The political services of the mayor, the leader of Tammany Hall and members of the board of dock commissioners may very well have been regarded by the American Ice Company as worth a million and a half to the unsavory methods of its enterprise, since without their aid it would have been unable to carry through this scheme and arbitrarily double the price of ice to over three million consumers.

If there is any truth in the adage: "Whom the gods

would destroy they first make mad," Tammany is surely on the list for destruction. A little while ago the Third Avenue Railroad Company thought that by the aid of Tammany, it could ride roughshod over the public in putting down two double sub-trolley tracks on Amsterdam Avenue. It was warned but it defied the warning. It flaunted its charter in the face of the people and dared either the courts or the legislature "to take away its property," but the people realized the danger involved and the more the corporation flaunted its defiance the more determined the people became to suppress it. The company worked night and day to lay its tracks in order that it might plead heavy investment, but the people saw its object, correctly divined its motive and finally legislated it off the avenue, charter, tracks, investment and all. The millions of money that the corporation wasted in defying public warnings and in buying the influence of Tammany brought it to bankruptcy, and, as a reward for its uneconomic methods and defiance of public interest and public opinion, it has been gobbled up by its competitor, the Metropolitan Street Railway Company. If the American Ice Company will continue its present policy it may be assured of some similarly unexpected outcome. When once the people get thoroughly awake to the true inwardness of the situation, Tammany cannot save it. Indeed, if Tammany will only do enough for the American Ice Company it will not be able to save itself.

Several propositions are already in the air to defeat this conspiracy. One is the organization of a cooperative ice company which shall be large enough and rich enough both to manufacture and import sufficient ice for all Manhattan. Another project is that the city shall undertake to gather and manufacture ice and supply it to the public at cost. Of course this is taking

business into the doubtful realm of politics. It is having recourse to socialism, which is always a doubtful experiment, but all reforms are the substitution of lesser or greater evils. If private enterprise insists upon joining hands with corrupt politicians for the obvious purpose of bleeding the public by monopoly prices, then drastic measures are sure to be adopted by the people. If the ice company's folly should continue until a municipal ice plant is demanded, then a new city government would be called for, as the corrupt ally of the American Ice Company could not and would not be trusted. Thus the combination of the economic fools in the American Ice Company and the political madmen in Tammany Hall, through their insane greed and conscienceless plunder of the public, may bring about the fall of the corrupt fabric of Tammany Hall. The people of New York have had many evidences of Tammany's degrading character but they have never before caught it in the act of conspiring with a monopoly to double the price of a necessity of the city's very poor, and with millions of the blood money in the pockets of the high officials from the mayor down. While doing all this it is impudently posing as the friend of the poor and the enemy of trusts!

WORKING-WOMEN'S CLUBS

CHARLOTTE COFFYN WILKINSON, SECRETARY NATIONAL LEAGUE
OF WOMEN WORKERS

Many and various are the factors which determine the popular attitude of mind toward humanitarian work. It is influenced sometimes by a love of the dramatic or delight in a striking contrast. Life is interpreted not in terms of life as it is known but by preconceived ideas, the memories of early stories and legends. The miracle of St. Elizabeth lingers in mind when, young and beautiful, she bore her apron full of loaves, or are they best remembered as roses? The Lady Bountiful was a beautiful ideal of her time but she has gone with her vassals and her broad lands. Nevertheless the "Lady Bountiful" attitude of mind, in itself an assumption of superiority, is with us still to-day.

To this love of the picturesque is added a rigid practicality of view whose possessor thinks that to "do good" one must give something tangible and real, "loaves," in short, and that the value of any undertaking may be estimated by the number it affects, much as early missionaries counted the number of souls saved. This same practicality of mind makes sharp class distinctions, counting rich and poor as well-defined social units, and failing to see that there must be wide diversity in any class and that "the great conglomerate class of the rich * * * has included human beings as different as Lord Shaftesbury and Mr. Barney Barnato."

To present the work of any organization in which women of leisure (so called) and working women are associated together, and to deny that it is in any sense a charity, induces confusion and misunderstanding among many, so firmly is it bred in the general mind

that the function of women of leisure in such an organization is to lead, direct and guide as to them seems wisest and best.

The working women's clubs have from the first been self-governing organizations where all have been on an equal footing, where no single voice has been authoritative and where no one vote has carried undue weight. The clubs have been governed not from without by a board of "lady managers" but by the members for the members. How successful this method has proved is best testified to by the originator of a most flourishing club: "Again and again the vote has gone contrary to my best judgment and I have come away from the club rooms feeling that a serious mistake had been made. Never once has subsequent experience proved that the vote of the majority was at fault. Every year of our club life shows to me that in a club of one hundred and fifty members no one member, no matter how broad her outlook upon life, can decide what is best for the club as a whole."

Self-support, or more correctly the attempt at self-support, has been the second principle of our clubs. The expenses are met by membership dues and entertainments where a small admission fee is required. Oftentimes a club sublets its rooms to kindergartens, day-nurseries or clubs meeting in the daytime, so that its entire rent is paid for in this way. It would be difficult to imagine a self-supporting club which was not at the same time self-governing, for no body of club members would struggle to meet the expenses of their club if they were not to have in charge its complete control. There are however many self-governing clubs which are not wholly self-supporting. Often a club member whose means permit takes upon herself the payment of half the rent of the club rooms (the largest item in club expenses); but this is a wholly

different matter from asking for public aid, and although a club under such circumstances cannot claim to be self-supporting it could not be termed a charity.

These two principles of self-government and self-support are practical applications of the far more fundamental principle of cooperation. If a club is wholly self-supporting it argues prompt payment of dues and the successful carrying through of entertainments. In order that a club may be self-governing it must be generally recognized that the good of the many is more important than that of the one. Although this form of government fosters independence of thought and freedom of action it cannot be carried into effect unless members appreciate the duty of taking part in club work. Given then this form of organization, either the members must realize the necessity of cooperation or the club must fail.

Our clubs have then been independent self-governing bodies, made up of women of widely different opportunities in life. They are illustrations of the great principle of social exchange. To some of the club members life has meant all that wealth and education could give, to others has come knowledge of practical affairs and of the industrial world. By means of close association in the club has come the realization that each has something to give, that every opportunity involves a responsibility, that we receive but to share, and that we can never really share without mutual understanding.

The form of government of our clubs has developed and fostered this mutual understanding between women of wholly different social grades. It has developed also a spirit of service, for it was but a step from the realization that each could contribute to the welfare of the club to the further apprehension that

club members had responsibilities beyond their club walls. This spirit of service first found expression in various "Lend a Hand" circles where the members distributed fruit or flowers to sick people in the neighborhood. A committee from one club befriended many families under the supervision of an agent of the local charity organization society. The members of the committee showed so much judgment that there were few cases in which the help given did not meet with the full approval of the agent. Many clubs distribute flowers in the summer, share their Thanksgiving dinners in the fall, and at Christmas welcome small guests to a well-laden tree.

How far-reaching in its effects may be the mutual understanding from club life is illustrated by an experience in one of the large manufacturing cities of Massachusetts. The working members of the clubs were all employed in the mills owned by the fathers, brothers and husbands of the members who were not wage-earners. "During a long winter's strike in the mills the girls never wavered in their allegiance to the club. They heard the employer's side of the question calmly told them by women they trusted. The tale was carried home to the men of their families. The girls had the opportunity to state their grievances and this in turn was carried back to their employers. More good feeling on both sides was encouraged in the city by the club than by any other means for reaching both sides represented by capital and labor."

The association in our clubs of women of different points of view is most valuable. Calmness of judgment and breadth of view are necessary in the consideration of any industrial problem ; but they will be purely visionary without a knowledge of all its practical bearings. The value of this association is well illustrated by an incident which occurred in Baltimore

about two years ago. "One of the largest commercial bodies in the city announced in the papers that it intended to furnish house rent free for six months to several hundred families to be brought to the city from smaller places, with the understanding that there were to be at least three women in each family able to operate sewing-machines in factories. It was urged, in favor of the plan, that many more operators were needed by the manufacturers. Members of a girls' club to which a number of machine operators belonged made inquiries in the club as to the truth of this statement and found that many of the largest factories were not working full time. Finding that thoughtful women in the charitable and social organizations of the city were beginning to question whether this importation of new workers would not depress wages, the club immediately joined forces with those who were interested. A meeting was held at which the machine operators in the club were invited to state their side and in less than a week a committee representing five thousand women presented a protest to the commercial organization and the whole matter was dropped. This was not brought about by the little handful of factory workers who happened to belong to a girl's club, but it would hardly have been accomplished without them."

In Massachusetts the state association of working-women's clubs has been of real value to working women in general, as it has succeeded in introducing the eight hour workday in the dry-goods stores of Boston. The conditions in Boston which made possible such a movement on the part of the Massachusetts Association were unusual and peculiarly favorable. The Boston Dry Goods Clerks' Benefit Society had been agitating the question for several years, so that the public were somewhat prepared for it. I quote from the report of the association for 1897:

“ At the Dec. 1896 Directors' Meeting it was decided to assist this movement as far as possible. The secretary was empowered to send out petitions to every woman's club in Boston and vicinity for the early closing of the stores during the months of January, February and March, 1896—a large number of names were obtained in this way. Several distinguished clergyment and philanthropists also gave it their active support. The proprietors of the large dry-goods stores were interviewed by the Association's officers. The different firms received them most courteously and agreed that the experiment was worth trying, and announced in the daily papers that the stores would be open at 8.30 A. M. and close at 5.30 P. M. *until further notice*. This custom continues to the present writing, June 1897, an hour being given at noon for lunch. The movement is spreading rapidly and other stores are closing early in Boston and vicinity.”

These examples show what may be accomplished by clubs in which almost all the members are busy in store and factory eight and ten hours a day. The conspicuous service which many clubs have been able to render to the communities of which they are a part has been possible largely on account of the nature of their organization. Not that I would overestimate the value of our principles. A club may be self-governing and self-supporting and yet not be a success. A framework is not a completed structure. Enthusiasm, persistence, and devotion are necessary to the success of any undertaking, no matter what its principles are. The value of self-government, self-support, and cooperation as club watchwords lies in the fact that they are based on the great truth that differences in economic condition do not involve differences in fundamental human characteristics and rights to opportunity, recognition and respect. Unless this truth is appreciated by

the originators of a club, there may be lack of sympathy and a possible danger of patronage. Mutual understanding and confidence will accompany its full realization.

Miss Wilkinson's account of the working-women's clubs forms another contribution to the constantly accumulating evidence that women are taking an active part in the general social movement. The extent and variety of women's organizations is much greater than is commonly supposed. There is a national federation of women's clubs, which includes 600 independent clubs, besides 30 state federations containing 2,110 clubs with a membership of 132,023. New York takes the lead with 196 organizations, 25,000 members, Massachusetts is next with 123 clubs and 17,000 members, Illinois has 185 clubs and 15,000 members, Pennsylvania 71 clubs and 8,607 members, District of Columbia has 10 clubs with 5,000 members.

There is an immense field of usefulness for women's organizations to do work that men cannot do half so well, if at all. Under the factory system the tendency is to work women and children longer, under worse conditions and for less pay than men. On these conditions the influence of women's organizations, both among the working-women themselves and among women's clubs of more general character, could be very great.

This great movement of women's clubs should now become a source of economic and political information. When the women can intelligently discuss the economic and social aspects of the sweatshop and the conditions of the working girls, the industrial and political dangers of unrestricted immigration, and other questions that affect the welfare of the community, especially of

the working-women and children, opposition to these reforms would become impotent.

The men, particularly the organized workingmen, will readily come to the support of the women's demands in these respects. The next step in woman's organizations should be to take on this educational character. Every woman's club might easily be made a center of economic and political study. A practical step in this direction would be for the national federation, including the 30 state federations, to begin with employing one able and well-equipped woman to devote her whole time to the organization of study classes, much on the plan that the Young Men's Christian Associations do the work in their different departments, such as army and navy departments, railroad departments, etc. The expense would be slight and the results enormous. They would soon be able to have an organizer for every state. This would be the beginning of a systematic though not tedious work of education on public questions for women. A few years of systematic work by the immense club organization that now exists would make the women of America, especially the working-women, more of a power in the community than the women of any other country, by as much as our institutions are freer and progress greater than in the rest of the world.—[EDITOR.]

THE EGYPTIAN QUESTION

EDWIN MAXEY, LL.D.

For about twenty years the Egyptian question in its present form has been an open question in Europe. This question involves the following considerations: What right has England in Egypt? Would other nations be justified in forcing a settlement of the question in the present emergency? Are they prepared to resort to force? What settlement have they to offer?

The bankruptcy of Egypt, due to bad financial management, led to a joint control of the finances by representatives of France and Great Britain. An arrangement of the above sort was sure to have been a source of trouble, had it lasted. But fortunately it did not last long; for the jealousy of foreigners, religious fanaticism and the discharge of the Egyptian army—which left many able-bodied men out of employment—all these causes combined to bring about a revolt. France refused to furnish any aid in putting down the revolt and so England was forced to put it down or get out. She chose the former, and after a brilliant campaign by land and sea the forces of Arabi were practically destroyed in a very short time. England now felt that it would be culpable generosity in her to invite or permit France to join her in reaping the fruits of labors in which she would take no part. England, therefore, caused the khedive to issue a decree, in 1883, abolishing the joint control. She next proceeded to place the finances of Egypt on a firm footing and station garrisons in such numbers and places as to prevent a future return to anarchy. Nominally this arrangement was a temporary one, but actually England has

no disposition to get out of Egypt and we may be reasonably sure she will not unless forced to do so.

Primarily, then, the position of England in Egypt rests upon force. But has she no higher claim? Egypt herself must give the answer. Neither is this answer a doubtful one. The records of Egyptian progress within the last twenty years, while they may lack the glitter of bayonets, are not to be disregarded as evidence in the forum of a candid world. From a national bankrupt Egypt has, under the wise financial guidance of England, become not only a solvent nation but a nation whose credit compares favorably with that of many of the states of Europe. Her fiscal reports now show a balance on the side of income rather than on the side of expenditure as formerly. The Egyptian surplus for 1898 was 1,190,000 pounds sterling. Egypt is no longer food for the fattening of the money sharks of Europe, as she was twenty years ago. She can now borrow money at a just rate of interest and is in a fair way to pay her old indebtedness. But the financial reconstruction, commensurate with that wrought by Alexander Hamilton in our own country, is one of the least of the benefits England has conferred upon Egypt.

The government of Egypt as England found it had so lost its hold upon the people that neither life nor property was safe. A foreigner may now travel unarmed in Egypt with as great safety as in Italy. The owner of property there feels reasonably sure that when he has paid his taxes to-day he will not be called upon to pay them over again to-morrow.

Egyptian commerce has increased more than ten per cent. within the last five years. The railroad and the telegraph, concomitants of advancing civilization, are being stretched over Egypt, not simply contemporaneously with but in large part as direct effects of English occupation. The reconstruction of the judicial

and educational systems has succeeded beyond the predictions of the most sanguine. The improvement of the educational and judicial systems, here as everywhere, has been at once cause and effect of social betterment. This improvement has not been confined within the limits of Egypt proper. Anglo-Egyptian rule has been extended so as to encompass savage tribes and hitherto worse than useless territory. And if it has not succeeded in making this region redolent with the fragrance of the rose and radiant with the sunlight of higher civilization it has at least rendered a valuable service to mankind by abolishing the slave trade in all those lands over which it has extended its spheres of influence, and some of those were but recently important highways to that traffic.

So much for the basis of Britain's claim to Egypt, which is in short—expediency. Her title cannot be said to rest upon prescriptive right, for this title has indeed been questioned more than once within these twenty years. France has repeatedly threatened to make England "show her hand." There were covered threats (and very thinly covered too) during the Fashoda negotiations, and one does not need to seek far or deep to find the reason why those threats were not at that time developed beyond the stage technically known as "bluff." Nor does it require any extraordinarily subtle insight into politics to discover why this bluff did not create a panic in diplomatic circles. Unfortunately for France the Fashoda child was prematurely born. Were the Fashoda case now pending the ejection of Major Marchand might lead to more serious proceedings in appeal. But the Fashoda incident is settled. The question now is, can France or any other nation afford to take advantage of Great Britain's preoccupation in South Africa to force a settlement of the Egyptian question? Would such a move accord with inter-

national ethics? Would it not be tinged with a suggestion of cowardice? The answer which must be given to these questions is not doubtful. While the international code of ethics lags behind the code which governs the intercourse between individuals, there are nevertheless certain principles of international comity which are considered binding in the forum of nations.

But, waiving the moral question, we have still the question of expediency which, like the poor and the tax gatherer, abideth forever.

Viewed, then, from the standpoint of simple expediency, what nation or nations, if any, can at present afford to resort to force in pressing their demands for a settlement of this perplexing problem? The nation most intimately concerned in ejecting England from Egypt is, of course, France. But in an aggressive campaign against Great Britain can France hope for success, notwithstanding the fact that a considerable portion of the British army is needed to operate in South Africa? Such a campaign would of necessity be in large part naval; and presumably Egypt would be the objective point. France would therefore have two main avenues of approach; first, by way of the Atlantic and then overland across French possessions to Egypt; or, second, by way of the Mediterranean either direct to Egypt or through Algeria. Let us examine these for a moment. Has France a sufficient Atlantic squadron to protect her transports along the first route? An examination of the facts convinces us that a negative answer must be given.

But, admitting that she has, it would still be necessary for her to protect an exceedingly long line of communications by land through an open and for the most part barren country. This is a task which would tax her resources to the utmost. We may therefore consider this route as practically out of the question. There

remains the Mediterranean route. Here we find that the British squadron outclasses the French, with the further advantage on the side of the British that they control the avenues by which an additional force could enter the Mediterranean. Egypt is equally safe from attack from this direction as from the other, inasmuch as the French fleet would not be sufficiently strong to protect their line of transports. The chances of success are, therefore, such that France cannot well afford to undertake, alone, to drive England out of Egypt, and a prominent English statesman has admitted with characteristic candor, bordering upon bluntness, that England does not mean to get out unless forced out. There is the further consideration that France has enemies on the continent and cannot wisely enter upon an undertaking that will weaken if not exhaust her resources.

But may not France accomplish by an alliance what would be impossible for her to accomplish single-handed? There is but one direction in which France may turn with any reasonable hope of securing an ally to this enterprise, and that is to Russia. But Russia can employ her energies to a far better advantage in Persia and China. There she can obtain a foothold much more easily and one which would be of far more practical use to her. Interference in Egypt by Russia could benefit the latter only indirectly by crippling England, while in Asia Russia can gain direct advantage as well as indirectly threaten English prestige. Hence there is very little likelihood of Russia going farther than diplomatic protests against England remaining in Egypt. And even were Russia inclined to embark in this enterprise it would be difficult for her to render the needed assistance to France, for Russia's fleet would at the outset be bottled up in the Black Sea and would continue in that comfortable but ineffective

condition during the continuance of the war, and her land forces would be compelled to operate at almost an equally great disadvantage.

But, granting the power to oust England, what would the world or Egypt gain thereby? For certainly the interests of Egypt are entitled to some consideration. Could France alone or France and Russia combined bring about a better condition of affairs than can reasonably be hoped for under the present rule?

If not, where is the justification for the use of force? The age of conquest simply and solely for military or political aggrandizement is past. Neither will it do for either or both to drive England out, then get out themselves and say: "After us, the deluge." It is an extremely doubtful problem whether Egypt is capable of continuing, alone, the measure of prosperity and liberty she now enjoys. Therefore, whoever disturbs the equilibrium assumes a great moral responsibility. But, notwithstanding the present desires and jealousies, there is no immediate danger of a resort to force in the settlement of this question. The argument against such a move, even from the standpoint of expediency, is too strong.

ARE WE GOTHIC OR A MIXED RACE?*

MOULTON EMERY

The term "race" the writer takes to mean strictly the most perfect homogeneity of a people in feature, form and disposition that the same soil can originate, and the term nation to signify a race that exists under one form of government, albeit mixed to some extent with foreign elements. The dominant idea in the former is perfect sameness of origin, and in the latter perfect sameness of government. Thus we speak of the Gothic, the Celtic and the Slavic races, and of the French, the Spanish and the Russian nations.

In determining the correct status of the American people among the various nationalities of the world, we can do so only through comparison with other peoples. When we come to study the subject we shall find that absolute purity of race exists nowhere in Europe under one government—where race and nation become perfectly synonymous terms—except in Norway, Sweden and Denmark—ancient Scandinavia. Gothic they were, Gothic they are, and Gothic they doubtless always will be.

The Gothic race peopled all the countries bordering on the Baltic and the North Seas. As Saxons, Frisians, Angles, Jutes and others, it occupied all the territory now known as Prussia proper, Brandenburg, Mecklenburg, Holstein, Schleswig, Hanover; the free cities Westphalia, Brunswick, Oldenburg, Holland and

*This article is the first in a series to extend through the next four months, analyzing the racial origins and composition of the people of the United States. Among the authorities to which the author refers in support of his data are Froude, Green, Macaulay, Buckle, Bancroft, Palfrey, Hewit, Ramsay, Baird and the U. S. Census Reports of 1890.

Flanders. It doubtless passed from Denmark into Norway and Sweden. It was the southern Goths that overthrew the Roman empire. The name German or Teuton was incorrectly applied by the Romans to all the people east of the Rhine instead of to the central tribes alone. The Germans are not the parent stock of the great Gothic race, but are only a branch of it.

What the Greeks were to the ancient world the Goths were to the modern, the personification of the highest type of dauntless bravery and heroic undying courage. They conquered all Europe and stamped their individuality on every people. Whatever goes to physical and mental endowment—and the mental is but a product of the physical, plus the environment—they possessed in a preeminent degree. Their superiority was not a temporary glow, to die down and disappear forever. It was in the blood and burned as fiercely in the eighth century as in the fourth. They were born rulers of men, the natural aristocracy of the earth. The Russians sent over to the Norman Goths and begged for Rurik as a ruler; and in France, England, Scotland and Ireland, in the two Sicilies, the isles of the Mediterranean and the Holy Land, their supremacy as fighters and rulers was unquestioned. Nor is the parallel incomplete in civilization, refinement and the arts, for their monuments rise in every land in lofty spires and towering battlements. To be descended from a Norman Goth is to be a born aristocrat with a patent of nobility struck from the pages of heroic history.

When we get beyond the primary classification of European humanity—into the Gothic, Celtic and Slavic races, down to the sub-races—we shall find that perfect purity of blood is the exception among Celtic peoples. Communities of such exist only in isolated inaccessible corners of the earth, which either repelled or failed to invite a foreign foe. Indeed, the Jewish race itself,

which is generally supposed to be the only type of racial purity, is in reality no purer than others, though living under the express command of God to this end. Their repeated captivities and perversities nullify any such claim. Their monotheistic faith alone remains to them pure.

The Spaniards cannot say they are from a common ancestor. The only pure stock in Spain is the Biscayan. It is supposed to be the original race of Europe. Hemmed in by the sea on the north, and by the mountains on the south, it possesses nothing in blood or language in common with the rest of the continent. All Spain except the territory of the Biscayan was overrun by the Visigoths, who were in turn subdued by the Saracens, in whose train came thousands on thousands of Jews. Celt, Goth, Saracen and Inquisition Jew form the basis of the modern Spaniards. Almost the same may be said of the Portuguese.

When we come to Italy the question is not what foreign elements are represented in her people, but rather what are not. The Latins as a distinct people had disappeared long before the time of Cæsar. Not only all the Mediterranean races but all the races of the known world go to the making of her nationality. Europe, Asia and Africa deluged her with slaves, the fruits of conquest, and Gothic blows and blood welded them together. The French are the product of Gaul, Frank, Briton and Norman. The Greek race has remained comparatively free of contamination. Its slaves were Greeks, not barbarians.

Next to the Italians the Irish are the greatest mixture of any people in Europe. The modern Irishman is a compound of Irish and Scot, Scandinavian, Saxon and Frenchman. The only pure unadulterated Irishman is to be found in Connaught. Spanish pirates settled in the South, Danish pirates founded Dublin, Wex-

ford, Waterford, Cork and Limerick, and it is but fair to presume spread out into the interior. Dublin, Louth, Meath and Kildare were occupied almost exclusively by Anglo-Normans; these counties formed the English Pale. Antrim was settled by Highlanders from the western coast of Scotland, and Leinster and Munster were peopled to some extent by colonies of English sent over by Queen Elizabeth on the overthrow of the Earl of Desmond.

In Scotland the Gothic conquest extended as far north as the Firth of Forth. The Celts were driven back to the western coast and to the Highlands. The Lowland Scotch, whether from Scotland or Ireland, were of the same origin as the English; only the accident of battle prevented the Lowlands from being a part of England, and the Lowlanders from being Englishmen. "The population of Scotland, with the exception of the Celtic tribes, which were thinly scattered over the Hebrides and over the mountainous parts of the northern shires, was of the blood of the population of England, and spoke a tongue which did not differ from the purest English more than the dialects of Somersetshire and Lancashire differ from each other." (Macaulay's "History of England.")

It has long been the fashion to speak of the English as not entitled to be called a race, but as only a mixture of racial elements. Even the language has not escaped, but is regarded as only a dialect. Such statements are the emanations of pure ignorance. Just the contrary is the case. The Gothic conquest of England was not effected in a day, but required one hundred and fifty years to accomplish. It was not a subjugation or an absorption. It was almost an extermination. It was a war to the death in which no quarter was given or asked. The Britons did not pass under the yoke. They did not surrender. They either died in their

tracks or slowly and sullenly, inch by inch, retreated to new lines of defence until they could go no farther. Wales and the sea received the remnants of them. A few remained in Cornwall and Westmoreland. That with this slight exception the English are wholly free of Celtic blood everything goes to prove. Scarcely a word of the Celtic language survives in the nomenclature of English towns, places and rivers. It is only when one gets to the western border that any evidence is met with that such a people as the Britons ever inhabited the land.

In 886 the Normans under Rollo besieged Paris with 40,000 men, and after losing 7,000 men in battle wrested Normandy from the French king. The Normans must have been very numerous in the new country of their conquest. Doubtless such of them as were single took Neustrian wives. But the Neustrians were not Celts, they were Franks, Germans, who conquered northern Gaul and peopled it. So that when two hundred years later the Norman conquest took place Normandy with the natural rate of increase must have numbered fully if not more than one million souls. When swarms of them poured across the channel into England it was not an alien race that invaded the land; it was practically men of the same blood; Goth to Goth. All research goes to prove that the English, like the Norwegians, Swedes and Danes, are of the purest Gothic blood.

Holland is wholly Gothic, and so is most of Belgium. Germany has preserved the purity of the Teutonic race except, perhaps, on the extreme borders. Russia is Slav and Tartar, and to some extent Germanic. Of Celtic peoples the Welsh alone have remained absolutely free of foreign elements.

Now who and what are we Americans, the people of the better part of this North American continent?

Have we any claim to belong to any one race? Have we any predominant inheritance from any European stock? Or are we a mixture of many races, destined like the numberless nationalities of ancient Italy to boil and simmer for a thousand years or more before we can throw off the dross of inharmonious features, forms and dispositions, and grow into uniformity of type and temperament—can become the perfect product of our environment? On this question the most erroneous notions prevail.

To those who, like the writer, were born and reared on the hills of New England where their ancestry have slept for centuries, who have looked abroad on none but the descendants of English stock, and who have grown up in the belief that New Englanders in particular and the rest of the people in general are as much a branch of the English race as the Greeks of Asia Minor were a branch of the Greek race, the question seems a most frivolous one. But to the newcomer, the Celt or Slav, or to the man who has never taken note of anything save the swarms that have passed through Castle Garden, we are indeed a mixture of all the races under the sun, from every clime and every country. And yet the question admits of a definite answer if one will bestow on it the necessary study.

The people who fled across the Atlantic to find new homes in the wilderness of the western world were mostly the victims of religious persecution. To the intolerance and bigotry, not of the church of Rome, but of the church of England, is due the fact that America, these United States, was in its settlement and occupancy down to 1820 mainly English and almost wholly Gothic. Whatever doubts there may be as to the character of the present population, there surely can be none as to the nationality of the settlers down to that

time. By the process of exclusion alone the student of history cannot go far astray from the facts.

Down to the revolution none or next to none came from Spain or Portugal. Only a small band of 167 Waldenses came from Italy and settled on the South river, the Delaware. In those days catholic powers were not troubling themselves to build up protestant communities, however active they may be to-day in dumping on us their pauper subjects.

The Celtic element came from France, Wales and the Highlands of Scotland. Considering the sparseness of the population of the two latter countries at that time and the absence of religious persecution, that most potent of all stimulants to emigration, the number could not have been large. In fact it must have been very small. After the revocation of the edict of Nantes in 1685, a few colonies of Huguenots came over and settled in the lowlands of South Carolina, at New Rochelle, and on the Hudson in New York, and in Massachusetts and Rhode Island. It is true that the dragonade of Louis XIV. exiled many thousands of Huguenots, but they did not all come to America. The number that did has been greatly overestimated. In all probability ten times more of them remained in England than sought our shores. They spread throughout protestant Germany, the king of Prussia sending them a special invitation to make their abode in his dominions. When the banner of the stubborn Stuarts went down forever on the battlefield of Culloden in 1746, a number of Highlanders were transported to the Carolinas, but they were few.

Celtic Ireland contributed none to the early settlement of the colonies. Whilst it is possible that now and then an Irish Celt might have migrated hither, it is an indisputable fact that no regular Celtic Irish immigration set in until many years after the revolution,

when the famine drove them forth. They migrated only to catholic countries, France, Spain and Austria. Down to 1580 Ireland was wholly catholic. Her population, whether Spanish, Danish, Norman, English or Scotch in origin, all had the same religious faith. The reformation that spread over all Europe was stayed in its course at the Irish Sea. The people of Ireland were beyond the reach of modern thought and investigation. No currents of intellectual activity reached their shores. Living a half savage life they received all the benefits of the papal system and experienced none of its abuses. They were then as now, ever have been, and in all probability—the catholic portion of them—always will be, under the complete domination of the priesthood. The monarch may reign but the priests rule.

EDITORIAL CRUCIBLE

IN ADDRESSING a Boston club recently, Mr. Gama-liel Bradford is reported as saying that if necessary he was "willing to lay down his life for his country." There are only a few occasions upon which that sort of speech is anything but cheap talk. There is not likely to be any opportunity for Mr. Bradford to lay down his life for his country by merely talking against annexation. The real way to do it is to join Aguinaldo's army. Really, the Bradfords and Atkinsons do far more toward making the American people endorse expansion than any efforts the administration makes.

THE INCREASE of American exports is something of a disturbing element in the calculations of the anti-tariff prophets. The present tariff was deplored as being the handicap to any real extension of our foreign commerce. Curiously enough the course of trade development has paid no attention to these solemn warnings. Our exports are greater now than ever before, indeed our exports to Germany are increasing at such a rate as to cause quite a little disturbance in the genial sentiment of our Teutonic brethren. Germany used to import more into the United States than we sent to Germany, but this has been radically changed and the balance is the other way. During the calendar year of 1898 the value of the German exports to the United States was \$77,700,000; during the same year our exports to Germany were \$163,800,000 a difference in our favor of \$86,100,000. The curious aspect of it all is that our free-trade doctrinaires are now beginning to lecture Germany on the merits of free-trade, assuring the Germans that our expansion is not due to our protection

and that protection cannot help Germany. These people do to well seek a foreign market for their intellectual wares. Experience is too much for them in the United States.

THERE IS A manifest effort being made in certain quarters to turn the visit of the Boer delegates to this country to political account by injecting the Transvaal war into our national campaign. Of course the opposition may try to utilize a pro-Boer sentiment, but the administration party ought to know better than to descend to this method of campaigning. There is nothing this country can do to help the Boers in their present struggle, and there is nothing in the Boer cause to warrant any sympathetic action on our part. This country is preeminently the leader and friend of democratic institutions and of human freedom. The Boer government stands for neither. Politically it is a narrow oppressive oligarchy; industrially it is a slave power. The present war was begun by the Boers, not in defence of their own but by invasion of British territory. True, it is a war for independence, but the object of the independence is not to extend democracy and equal rights but to give the Boers undisputed power to oppress immigrants and make slaves of the natives. The Boers hate England largely because she abolished slavery in the Transvaal. Besides violating the spirit of the Monroe doctrine, to endorse the Boers would be to endorse political despotism and chattel slavery.

THE NEW currency law seems to be working better than many of its friends anticipated. In the first forty-six days of the new act (March 14th to May 1st) the increase in the national bank circulation has been greater than in the preceding seven years. During this brief

period applications have been received and approved for 236 new national banks, 194 of which will have a capital of less than \$50,000. This increased circulation amounts to \$29,692,368, and it appears to be distributed largely in the rural districts or smaller cities, as less than two millions and a half of it has been issued by the associated banks of New York. According to returns received from 3,000 national banks, it is estimated that there will be an immediate further increase of over \$69,000,000, and still another increase of more than \$20,000,000 during the year. So that, under the first year's operation of the new act, by the use of the new bonds the national bank circulation will probably be increased fully \$110,000,000. This is an increase in the volume of currency large enough perceptibly to affect the money markets of the country. For the passage of this act the administration is entitled to unstinted credit.

THE CROKERS and Van Wycks of Philadelphia seem to have found a tartar in John Wanamaker. As editor of the *North American*, Mr. Wanamaker's son criticized the conduct of the mayor and certain other city officials of Philadelphia, and in true Tammany fashion Mr. Abraham L. English, director of public safety, accompanied by the commissioner of city property, called upon Mr. Wanamaker to demand that he stop the criticism. They warned him that they would immediately put in operation their political scandal-manufacturing machine of a most personal and defamatory character. This method of approach usually makes most men yield, but Wanamaker was an exception. With him the trick would not work. He defied their threats and ordered them to leave his office at once.

This exposition is useful at least as showing the scandalous methods these political ruffians resort to.

If a man cannot be bullied or bribed he must be ruined by manufactured scandal, which, even though false, he is usually powerless to prevent. But Mr. Wanamaker is not only a clean man and a bold man but he is a rich man. He can put more machinery in motion than the whole group of Philadelphia scandal-manufacturing city officials, and what is more Mr. Wanamaker has the confidence and respect of the community, which they have not. He will be backed by the moral sentiment of the nation in the heroic stand he has taken and in any fight that may follow. Blackmailers are always cowards when they are cornered.

ON THE first of May the Standard Oil Company increased the wages of its employees in Williamsburgh, Greenpoint and Long Island City 10 per cent., and reduced their working time from ten to nine hours a day. On the 14th of May this increase of wages and reduction of time was extended to all its employees at its different stations and distributing points throughout the country, including over 30,000 workingmen. Commenting on this unusual step for a large corporation the *Brooklyn Eagle* says:

"The reasons for the increase in the wages of the employees of the Standard Oil Company are of less consequence than the increase. It is estimated that the total amount of the additions to the pay of the men will reach \$1,500,000 a year, and that the total pay roll will, in the future, be \$16,500,000 every twelve months. It is said that no man employed by the company receives less than \$1.50 a day and that the average wage is \$2."

It may be said that the Standard Oil Company can easily afford to give its employees an extra million and a half dollars a year, but that is not the point. People do not usually pay all they can afford to but only what they must. It is one of the hopeful signs of the times that despite the calumny, abuse and efforts to blackmail this concern in a hundred ways, its management should

pursue the even tenor of its way as if it were receiving compliments, raise the wages of its workmen and shorten their hours without being asked. If all large and wealthy corporations would follow its lead in this respect as eagerly as they follow its methods of corporate organization, a new era in the relations of capital and labor would soon begin.

AT THE RECENT race conference in Montgomery, Alabama, the repeal of the fifteenth amendment was advocated as the remedy for race troubles in the South. The franchise was given to the negro on the mistaken assumption that people can be made equal by statute law, and they cannot. That would require a miracle. Thirty-five years' experience has shown that no miracle was wrought. In the South the white race has shown that it will not submit to negro government under any circumstances. There is really nothing exceptional in this. There is no place on the earth where it will. A few dozen white people go into Hawaii and rule the natives, a handful of Europeans go into Africa and govern the country. Wherever the white race comes in contact with inferior races it always governs. Granting that the fifteenth amendment was a mistake, it is now too late to obtain its repeal. The race question will have to be solved some other way. The individual states may ultimately find some way legally to eliminate the negro from politics. But in doing this they must be prepared to surrender part of their representation. The southern states have always been over-represented in the national government. Before the war they had two-fifths representation for their slaves, which were then simply property and no more entitled to political representation than horses, sheep or cattle. Since the war the southern states have been over-represented in congress by the illegal suppression of the

negro vote. If the South insists on eliminating the colored vote, its representation should be promptly reduced to the basis of its white population, thus for the first time in the history of the republic putting it on the same political basis as the rest of the United States.

MR. ANDREW CARNEGIE is one of America's public-spirited citizens. He has demonstrated his interest in popular education by giving millions to the erection of public libraries, where the masses may have free access to the best there is of literature and art and other aids to intelligent and well-informed citizenship. In order that the working people may have the benefit of these extraordinary opportunities they must at least have the time to visit the libraries. To secure this, which alone can make libraries a real opportunity for the masses, there must come a shortening of the working day. Libraries and lecture halls can be of little service to laborers who work twelve hours a day. Now is an excellent time for Mr. Carnegie to take the next step forward in his good work by adopting the three-shift system. In many departments of iron and steel manufacture it is necessary for the machinery to work continuously night and day. Under the two-shift system this obliges laborers to work twelve hours at a stretch. The next feasible step is to adopt the three-shift system, which would give the eight-hour day. This would be a great advance and a consistent part of Mr. Carnegie's free library scheme. There is every reason, economic, social and moral, why the shorter working day should mark the next step in our national progress, and there are special reasons why in the iron industry the three-shift system should be adopted. Won't Mr. Carnegie do this, and thus set the pace for a general improvement for the workers in the iron industry of the country?

A LABOR-UNION COLLEGE

It has been announced that the American Federation of Labor is contemplating the establishment of an institution for the education of members of labor unions. The subjects to be covered are English and American History, constitutional law, political institutions, municipal government, political science, theoretic and applied economics. The object, of course, is to furnish an opportunity for systematic study and thoroughly to equip leaders in the labor movement with a scientific knowledge of the various departments of economic and political science, so as to put the representatives of organized labor fully on a level, so far as intellectual equipment and scientific information are concerned, with the best representatives of capital or the great political parties.

The very suggestion of such a departure shows that evolution in the best progressive sense is doing its work within the ranks of labor organization. Despite all that is said against labor unions, the rashness of their leaders, the unreasonableness of their claims and the narrowness of their ideas, despite the constantly repeated announcement that they are alien to American institutions, these organizations stay and multiply. All the forms of anathema have been applied against them. Legislation has been inflicted and courts have acted, leaders have gone to jail, but the unions thrive nevertheless; all of which shows that like "trusts" they are here to stay. Political leaders cater to them a few months before an election, but in fact have never taken them seriously. They are not altogether to blame for this, for labor unions have to a very large extent made themselves nuisances because of the uneconomic and

even unintelligent direction of their action. They frequently make claims upon individual employers, and often upon political parties, which cannot be seriously entertained, and it may be said that usually when employers really recognize them to the full extent of treating with their representatives the unions soon try to take possession of the business and dictate the details of management, which obviously belongs to the employer. In this way the best-intentioned capitalists have been soured against labor organizations, and not infrequently it happens that when the labor leader is judicious and moderate he loses popularity with the union; they insist upon having the brawling declaimer at the front. The history of nearly every trade union reveals these characteristics, and wherever the union is sufficiently strong to enforce its recognition it becomes so despotic that it is only a matter of time when employers seek an opportunity to organize against it, and so make war on the very principle of organization itself.

In reality this is very much like the experience the community has with trusts. Capitalists combine and find that through their combination they have at least temporarily an advantage over the market situation. They often proceed to "put on the screws" by foolishly putting up the price of the goods or wantonly endeavoring to "freeze" competitors out of the business. In this way, through their unintelligent and wholly uneconomic attitude they bring the whole community down upon them, and what is really good and sound in combination becomes disreputable because of the uneconomic, uninformed leadership connected with it.

But, notwithstanding all the blunders and the perverse action due to unintelligent narrowness, large corporations have come and are coming. They increase in size and number, and are here to stay. This is rapidly becoming recognized by all classes in the community,

and legislators find that it is impossible to pass laws to suppress them without arresting the progress of society, which will never be tolerated. With all the antagonism and fuming, from the defeated competitor to the slick politician, it is now universally admitted that trusts or large corporations cannot be suppressed, and that the most that can be hoped is that they shall be intelligently directed.

Despite the constant habitual declaration that we have no classes and must have no class legislation in this country, the fact remains and is becoming more obvious every day that the wageworkers are a class. They are a class who have interests in common, interests which are not in an immediate sense identical with the interests of the employing class. Of course, in the broader sense both the laborers and employers have a common interest; interest in prosperity, interest in freedom, interest in the progress of society, security of individual effort, freedom of thought and independence of social and political action. But, since wage receivers as a class depend for their welfare upon increasing their income and diminishing drudgery, and the employers upon the other hand have at least temporarily a seeming interest in not paying more wages and not shortening the working day, there is a manifest short-range conflict of interest. In the long-range societary sense the interests are common, but in the immediate instance both view their interests as antagonistic, and that is why the conflict comes on with increasing severity, and that is why so frequently it happens that both sides show more heat than light upon the subject.

The questions which are at least apparently wholly in the interest of labor must command recognition. It is useless to say that they involve class legislation. All the best legislation that the world has ever had has

been class legislation; that is to say, it has been legislation in the interest of some specific object, which usually was to give freedom or advancement or protection to some special group. The abolition of slavery was class legislation; it affected only the slaves. The extension of the franchise to workingmen was class legislation; it extended political power distinctly to a class previously excluded. All educational legislation providing free and compulsory education is class legislation; it is chiefly for the children of the working class, not for the children of the rich. Every law, in Europe and this country, restricting the hours of labor of women and children is class legislation; it is invoking the legal power of the community in the interest of a class which economically could not protect itself. The enforcement of sanitary conditions, the provision of fire escapes to factories, the right of factory inspection, and in fact the whole line of humane and civilized industrial legislation as represented in the factory acts is class legislation and it was all opposed on the theory that it was class legislation. The *laissez faire* doctrinaire, economist, statesman and employer, all alike protested against every step of this now admittedly beneficent legislation on the ground that it was class legislation.

The laws that have been passed for the protection of life and health in mining, enforcing ventilation, inspection, safety of egress and the application of every known device to preserve the life and protect the limb and otherwise guard the working conditions in mining, have all been passed not for the mine owner but for the laboring miners. This legislation became indispensable because the short-sighted self interest of the capitalists did not prompt them to do it, and the workmen were powerless to do it themselves; society, through legislation, had to do it for them.

As a matter of fact, therefore, the idea that legis-

lation is bad because it is for a class is all a mistake. It is only bad when it will fail to produce good effects. If it will benefit a hundred, a thousand or a million people of a particular class, though it does nothing for the rest of the community, it is a real contribution to civilization. It improves the condition of just so many human beings. It helps a class because it needed helping. The leaders of political parties fail to recognize this aspect of the subject. They seem to assume that workingmen are not justified in asking any legislation for themselves alone, and that they must take their share in the general benefit of general legislation, which affects everybody. They seem to imagine, because laborers are divided more or less evenly between the two parties, that the respective parties equally represent the labor interests, and hence they look with impatience if not contempt upon any request by the laboring class or the wageworkers for special recognition. Both parties are willing enough to say that laborers shall be protected in their rights and have equality before the law, shall be guaranteed the freedom to work where they like and for whomsoever they like, and so on, and conclude that that is the whole of the question. But it is not. These are general conditions which they share with everybody else in the community. But there are special conditions from which the remainder of the community does not suffer personally and directly, and which the laborers are unable to affect for themselves except either through legislative action or coercive action of combination, often through strikes.

It is for this reason that the laborers periodically attempt to flock off into a third party, and say "Plague on both your houses." Whenever they do this they become less rational in their policy, because they segregate themselves from the more experienced and wiser

leadership which has dominated the action of the more successful and experienced classes. Whenever they have attempted to flock alone they have proceeded to denounce everybody not of their class as antagonistic, dishonest and to be treated as an enemy. Hence that is the time that they are caught by the red flag of socialism or by the noisy declamations of populism,—in fact, that is the time that they become victims of the cheap campaigner and unscrupulous politician, and when they do this it not infrequently happens that the less scrupulous political parties will bid for their support by promising to carry out the most irrational part of the laborers' program. This was conspicuously true in 1896. The Chicago convention bid for the populist and labor vote by exactly this method. Mr. Bryan's speeches throughout the campaign were appeals to the unreasoning feelings this created, and he is grinding out platitudes to the same purpose yet. But he is only enabled to do this because the other party practically ignores the situation.

The result of these segregating movements is frequently that disintegrating and even dangerous policies are adopted. It is safe to say that to-day no third party labor movement could be organized which was not two-thirds socialistic—that was not, in short, practically a war upon existing institutions, and if successful would be a poverty-creating setback for society.

The only conceivable remedy for the dangers from this source,—and they are becoming greater and more far-reaching as laborers become organized and independent,—is economic and political education, not of the laborers alone but of the capitalists as well. The capitalists must learn by study or experience that class legislation is not necessarily bad; that most of the beneficent legislation of society must needs be in the interest of laborers, because the laboring class is least

able to control the new forces of society equitably in its own interest. On the other hand, this movement can only be a conflict, with acrimony and loss, impeding progress and inflicting hardship during every inch of advance, unless the laborers through their organizations and leaders are more wisely directed. If labor unions are to maintain and increase their usefulness as the means of representing and promoting the interest of the laboring class, they must be in the hands of better informed and more thoroughly equipped leaders.

The establishment of a college or institution for the purpose of educating and training the leaders of labor organizations by equipping them with the knowledge of the history and principles of economics and government is a great step,—indeed, the most encouraging step that has yet been attempted in this direction. If this proposition should be carried out and, as proposed, lectures and instruction be given by the most competent specialists in the various departments, it will not be long before the trade-union secretary and president and the walking delegate will be selected on the merit system, and will be quite as well informed and fully as capable of scientifically discussing the economic questions involved in labor controversies as the most experienced corporation manager. The local union will then gradually be changed from a nursery of antagonism to a school of economic and political education. The trade unions would gradually become the training clubs for economic and social discussion, and by the force of intelligent information they would become more rational in their demands, more intelligent and forceful in their claims, and many times more successful in their undertakings.

This idea of a labor-union college is the culmination of a long series of improvements in the efforts and methods of labor organization. They were once secret

clans organized or convened for destructive purposes by mob methods, to wreak vengeance on some employer or competing laborer. But they gradually evolved from that into friendly societies and protective associations, with an increasing recognition of their larger industrial interests, and little by little, through a multitude of mistakes, have learned that discussion, peaceful propaganda, is ultimately more effective than mob force or personal violence. Thus they have gradually been transformed from mere striking machines into a comparatively intelligent, orderly, economic force. The proposed educational institution if established will put them on an intellectual plane quite equal with the employers and professional economists. For, while they may lack the wealth of the one and the scholarship of the other, they will have a practical experience and a real touch with the laborer's life that neither of the others possess.

If the proposition of the Federation of Labor to establish a labor-union college is seriously entertained, it should be encouraged by every class in the community. It should be encouraged by every laborer, even if he has to contribute a certain per cent. of his wages to support it. It should be encouraged by every employer as the surest way to elevate industrial controversy to the plane of intelligent discussion and peaceful solution. It should be encouraged by statesmen and political parties as the most effective means ever suggested of elevating the plane of citizenship and promoting intelligent voting and pure politics at the very source of popular institutions.

CIVIC AND EDUCATIONAL NOTES

Chautauqua Summer Schools

The announcements and descriptive illustrated circulars of the Chautauqua summer schools are just out, and as usual indicate steady progress. The Chautauqua system has been thoroughly reorganized during the past year, and the executive offices moved from Buffalo to Cleveland; but of course the popular center of the work, typified by its local summer headquarters, remains at Chautauqua Lake. This is one of the most beautiful spots in the East, and the environment is such as to guarantee a thoroughly satisfying, pleasurable and helpful experience to all who may care to combine summer recreation with educational and literary opportunities of a high order.

Courses are offered this summer in English language and literature, modern and classic languages, mathematics and science, social science, psychology and pedagogy, nature study, music, fine arts, expression, physical education, domestic science and practical arts. Among the large corps of lecturers well-known names are numerous, including such authorities as G. Stanley Hall, Moses Coit Tyler, Benjamin Ide Wheeler, Bliss Perry, and others.

Educational Heresy!

Professor Hugo Münsterberg, of Harvard, is in danger of a heresy trial if he is not more considerate of orthodox educational ideas. In a recent number of the *Atlantic* he disputes, up and down, the value of so-called "practical" pedagogics and psychology for teachers, and actually hints that natural tact, sympathy and adaptability are more

important factors in bringing out the results in mind and character for which true education strives. He says:

"Psychology is a wonderful science, and pedagogy, as soon as we shall have it, may be a wonderful science, too, and very important for the school organizer, for the superintendents and city officials, but the individual teacher has no practical use for it. I have discussed this point so often before the public that I am unwilling to repeat my arguments here. I have again and again shown that in the practical contact of the schoolroom the teacher can never gain that kind of knowledge of the child which should enable him to get the right basis for psychological calculation, and that psychology itself is unable to do justice to the demands of the individual case. I have tried to show how the conscious occupation with the pedagogical rules interferes with the instinctive views of the right pedagogical means, and above all how the analytic tendency of the psychological and pedagogical attitude is diametrically opposite to that practical attitude, full of tact and sympathy, which we must demand of the real teacher, and that the training in the one attitude inhibits the freedom in the other."

After all, it is rather refreshing to read something like this, in the intervals between listening to long lectures by learned bachelors on "child study"—(as if a child were a queer species of rabbit or muskrat for laboratory study under microscope and tweezers!)—and wading through the mathematically correct essays read by delegates to conventions of maiden ladies on "Advice to Mothers."

**Teachers' Salaries
Should Increase**

The new so-called "Davis law," establishing a uniform scale of teachers' salaries in New York city, is the final outcome of the failure of the different boroughs of the city to agree on any satisfactory arrangement of this matter. The law seems to be greatly defective. It has taken the power of paying the salaries out of the hands of the controller without providing any means whereby the board of education can do this work. The board is obliged, however, to go ahead and establish an auditing department of its own, with or without authority,

all of which will mean considerable delay in the payment of salaries already due. More than this, the measure itself is a direct violation of home rule—which forbids any unqualified endorsement of it. The real root of the trouble seems to be that on so many vital matters New York continuously fails to justify its exercise of home rule. If there had been any real disposition on the part of the city government to do the right thing in this matter of teachers' salaries, there would have been no need of going to Albany for relief. Probably the city will never get wholly free of outside interference until it reaches the point of conducting its public affairs on a broadminded, enlightened and progressive plane, recognizing public interests in the order of their real importance instead of their plunder-yielding capacities.

The standards for teachers in New York city have been steadily raised and the requirements increased. It is right that their pay should advance, it ought to have advanced long ago, it has always been too low. Teachers are not competitors in the economic field, and their service ought to be rewarded with some reference to its usefulness to the community as well as mere cost of living. New York is not going to be ruined by these increases. It is the great center of enormous wealth in the western hemisphere, and ought to be spending more and more all the time for wholesome improvements in a dozen directions. If public money were being spent for degrading brutal spectacles or official debauchery, as in the old Roman times, there might be cause for alarm; but, never question or doubt the soundness and strength and hopefulness of a community or civilization that threatens to overrun its allowance now and then for the sake of popular education! That is a better guarantee of permanent security and expansion than any cutting of the tax rate.

THE OPEN FORUM

This department belongs to our readers, and offers them full opportunity to "talk back" to the editor, give information, discuss topics or ask questions on subjects within the field covered by GUNTON'S MAGAZINE. All communications, whether letters for publication or inquiries for the "Question Box," must be accompanied by the full name and address of the writer. This is not required for publication, if the writer objects, but as evidence of good faith. Anonymous correspondents are ignored.

LETTERS FROM CORRESPONDENTS

Effects of Porto Rico Policy

EDITOR GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—As I remember, either in your magazine articles or some of your lectures you quite forcibly and boldly criticized President McKinley for his departure from a protective to a free trade policy; this was in the president's Porto Rican recommendations to congress. But now congress has caused the republicans to see that a graver and more difficult question is in their plan than existed in the president's original plan. Is there not danger in radical departures from plain positions such as are generally understood, like uniform taxes or tariffs? If enough people can be convinced that congress was, under existing conditions, doing that territory an act of humanity, or that the case was one demanding heroic treatment, then a majority may endorse congress, though we believe the logic was with the president because his was not a departure from any prior teachings he or any of his party advocates tried to maintain. A reasonable constituency can often be brought to endorse many departures, but in this case theories may cloud many minds, as was the unfortunate result in 1892, and disaster again swamp a prosperous people in this year of 1900.

L. P. VANCE, Sutherland, Iowa.

A Defence of the Mormons

EDITOR GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—An article in your February number, entitled "The Mormon Power in America," has come to my notice, and as some of the statements therein appeal to me as being very misleading I beg the indulgence of enough of your valuable space to make a few remarks in answer thereto.

First of all I wish it distinctly understood that I am not a follower of the Mormon faith and am absolutely opposed to polygamy. It is only because Mr. Scanland appears to know almost nothing about the people he so severely condemns, and in the interest of truth, that I raise my pen in answer to his article. I have lived constantly among the Mormons for upwards of two years and have had opportunity to study their teaching and system of religion quite extensively and as I (being from the East) was prejudiced against them when I went among them I very naturally give them no more credit than the facts warrant.

Mr. Scanland's statistics I will assume to be correct. The first statement to which I take exception is the following: "Their growing power is a menace to this government and to civilization. Though surrounded by civilization they are not affected to it, but on the contrary stifle it." The Mormons as I have known them are as law-abiding and patriotic as any people in this country. They have had as large a representation in the volunteer army of the late conflicts as any other people and no one will say that the Utah boys were below par as soldiers. As to their stifling civilization I will only say that the schools of Utah are not equaled by those of many older states with much greater population, and I doubt if there are five states in the union with as thoroughly systematized and complete a depart-

ment of public instruction as has Utah. The church in every possible way encourages the study of music, literature, art, science and all subjects tending toward the highest degree of civilization.

As to the question of polygamy : there are undoubtedly a number of Mormons who are living in polygamous relation with wives taken by them prior to the passage of the Edmunds law. I doubt if any plural wife has been taken with the sanction of the church since—if any have they have certainly been extremely few. Mr. Scanland would have us believe that the doctrine of plural marriage is yet taught by the church and that it is its principal article of faith. As a matter of fact it is and always was a side issue. Its practice was not begun until 1843, over thirteen years after the church was organized, and is no longer taught. As the number involved in the practice of polygamy was never more than two or three per cent. of the adult membership of the church and is now very much less than the former and no new plural marriages are being consummated, polygamy will have become practically extinct by the end of another decade.

Following are the "Articles of Faith" which cover the essential points of the religion and to which the church adheres very rigidly :

ARTICLES OF FAITH OF THE CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST
OF LATTER-DAY SAINTS.

"1. We believe in God the Eternal Father, and in His Son Jesus Christ, and in the Holy Ghost.

"2. We believe that men will be punished for their own sins, and not for Adam's transgression.

"3. We believe that, through the atonement of Christ, all mankind may be saved, by obedience to the laws and ordinances of the Gospel.

"4. We believe that the first principles and ordinances of the Gospel are : First, Faith in the Lord Jesus Christ ; second, Repentance ; third, Baptism by immersion for the remission of sins ; fourth, Laying on of Hands for the Gift of the Holy Ghost.

"5. We believe that a man must be called of God, by 'prophecy,

and by the laying on of hands,' by those who are in authority, to preach the gospel and administer in the ordinances thereof.

" 6. We believe in the same organization that existed in the primitive church—namely, Apostles, Prophets, Pastors, Teachers, Evangelists, etc.

" 7. We believe in the gift of tongues, prophecy, revelation, visions, healing, interpretation of tongues, etc.

" 8. We believe the Bible to be the word of God, as far as it is translated correctly ; we also believe the Book of Mormon to be the word of God.

" 9. We believe all that God has revealed, all that He does now reveal, and we believe that he will yet reveal many great and important things pertaining to the Kingdom of God.

" 10. We believe in the literal gathering of Israel and in the restoration of the Ten Tribes ; that Zion will be built upon this (the American) continent ; that Christ will reign personally upon the earth, and that the earth will be renewed and receive its paradisiacal glory.

" 11. We claim the privilege of worshiping Almighty God according to the dictates of our conscience, and allow all men the same privilege, let them worship how, where, or what they may.

" 12. We believe in being subject to kings, presidents, rulers, and magistrates ; in obeying, honoring and sustaining the law.

" 13. We believe in being honest, true, chaste, benevolent, virtuous, and in doing good to all men ; indeed, we may say that we follow the admonition of Paul, ' We believe all things, we hope all things,' we have endured many things, and hope to be able to endure all things. If there is anything virtuous, lovely, or of good report or praiseworthy, we seek after these things.—JOSEPH SMITH."

Regarding the matter of the missionary work of the Mormons, I certainly see no reason for opposing it. If those who are proselyted live according to the teaching of the church they will live as honorable lives as the members of other Christian churches ; and if they do not so live they will be neither better nor worse than they were before.

G. A. FRADENBURG, M. D., Manassa, Col.

QUESTION BOX

Would Bryan Give a Panic?

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—Now that the gold standard is fixed by law, what have we to fear if Mr. Bryan should be elected on a free-silver platform? The senate is safe for a long time to come, and the only policy Bryan could affect would probably be the expansion matter. Under the circumstances, Bryan's election ought not to give us a financial panic. Why not elect him, then, to head off the really serious danger of imperialism and militarism?

P. J. N., Chicago, Ill.

The danger from Mr. Bryan's election is not now so much that he would inaugurate a silver policy, but even on that subject it would be a national expression in favor of a silver standard, which would be an indication of a possible ultimate undoing of the recent currency law. On the matter of expansion Mr. Bryan could do nothing to correct whatever mistake has been committed. Anti-imperialism and anti-militarism are convenient terms, but he would not for a moment think of repudiating the Paris treaty. He could not do so if he would, neither could he undo the annexation of Hawaii. What he would probably do would be to treat the Philippines and Porto Rico as territories in line for statehood. Indeed, it is not at all clear that he might not soon be in favor of making two states out of Porto Rico. This would not furnish a remedy for any of the evils of expansion but would rather add to the calamity. Moreover, he would favor as a part of this policy entire free trade between this country and the new possessions, and so do as much as possible to break down our protective system. For the evils of expansion Mr.

Bryan has no remedy to offer, and otherwise he stands as a menace to our domestic prosperity and national welfare.

Corruption in Our New Possessions

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—A patriotic American cannot but feel that it is going too far to say, as you do, that we may expect in Porto Rico “practically the same political jobbery, selling of industrial privileges and other scandalous political performances that disgraced the carpet-bag era in the southern states.” Right on the heels of your article comes the appointment of Governor Allen, a man of the highest character and fitness, while congress has passed a stringent law, providing for the proper granting and control of all franchises on the island. Is it fair to assume that the government in all our new possessions will be run by gangs of thieves?

———, Newark, N. J.

It is not to be assumed that the government in all our new possessions will be “run by gangs of thieves.” Under the carpet-bag regime the southern states were not *all* run by gangs of thieves, but in the very nature of things a government which entirely depends upon presidential appointment, under the spoils system, contains all the incentives for jobbery and spoliation. The fact that a person of high character has been appointed as first governor of Porto Rico does not militate against this. With the election of a new president, especially with a change of party, we may expect a “cleaning out,” and redistribution of offices according to the “merit” of political service rendered. Under such a system the probabilities of jobbery are much greater than they would be if the government were entirely elected by the people of Porto Rico themselves.

BOOK REVIEWS

MONOPOLIES AND TRUSTS. By Richard T. Ely, Ph.D., LL.D. 273 pages, cloth, \$1.25. 1900. The Macmillan Company, New York.

It is gratifying to note that Professor Ely does not confound monopoly with trusts. He admits that: "There is, strictly speaking, no trust problem." To recognize that there are no trusts, but simply large corporations, is clearly a step towards intelligent discussion of the subject. His first chapter is devoted largely to definitions of what constitutes monopoly, and the quotations from a very large number of writers and speakers serve to show how very loosely the term monopoly is used. It may be said that Professor Ely has been scarcely less loose in the selection of his authorities. For instance, he several times quotes H. O. Havemeyer, as if in any scientific discussion of the subject Mr. Havemeyer's opinion was of any account. Such statements as Mr. Havemeyer indulges in may be used in a political journal but ought to find no place in a scientific work.

He finally states his own definition of monopoly as follows: "Monopoly means that substantial unity of action on the part of one or more persons engaged in some kind of business which gives exclusive control, more particularly, although not solely, with respect to price." According to this definition, which is certainly a great improvement on those quoted from other sources, monopoly "gives exclusive control." It would be very difficult for Professor Ely to find a single instance of monopoly outside of exclusive franchises, patents, copyrights and the post-office. Apparently realizing this, the author argues that the control of seventy or eighty per cent. of a business may give

"exclusive control" and hence establish a monopoly. This is one of the instances where he cites the opinion of Mr. Havemeyer. On what theory it can be claimed that the control of eighty per cent. of a business constitutes a monopoly of the whole business is not made clear.

If the owners of the eighty per cent., for instance, put up the price of the commodity, that does not compel the other twenty per cent. to do likewise. On the contrary, it may be the greatest possible inducement for them to put down the price and so get a larger share of the business. The eighty per cent. may depress the price by offering to sell theirs at a reduction, but even this they cannot do permanently unless they can supply the whole market and thus become the hundred per cent. If there is still twenty per cent. of the market demand unsupplied, those who furnish that portion can secure their own price or refuse to sell. This would force one or two things, either that the price for the twenty per cent. portion at least should keep up or else that the extent of the market be reduced twenty per cent., in which case the previous eighty per cent. supply would become one hundred per cent. But there is no law in economics and no force in society and no economic interest to induce the action which will enable eighty per cent. to constitute a monopoly, without the consent of the other twenty per cent. In other words, so long as the twenty per cent. are competitors the eighty per cent. can have no monopoly. Selling goods in the open market is not, like voting in a stockholders' meeting, determined by the majority. To secure exclusive control of either the product, market supply or price of a commodity, is indeed a monopoly, but that involves the control of the whole supply, which seventy or eighty per cent. does not furnish.

In discussing the matter further and quoting from

numerous economic, political and legal sources, among which are Cook, Blackstone and the statutes of Queen Elizabeth, Professor Ely says "we have partial monopolies as well as complete monopolies." A partial monopoly he defines thus: "We have a partial monopoly where there is a unified control over a considerable portion of the industrial field, but not over a sufficient portion to give complete domination of the whole field."

To speak of a partial monopoly seems a contradiction in terms. There can be actually no such thing as partial monopoly, any more than there can be a partial hole. There may be a large hole or a small hole, but there can be no partial hole. If we are thus to extend the term monopoly so as to apply to every industry "where there is a unified control over a considerable portion of the industrial field," then we can call every large concern a monopoly, which practically widens the expression into a meaningless phrase. This is just about what all the cheap political writers and speakers do. A large concern may be good or bad, it may have all the virtues or vices on the calendar, but that does not make it a monopoly. A monopoly is a specific thing, namely, the power of "exclusive control." Anything short of that is not monopoly. It may be worse than monopoly, it may commit crime or anything else, but it is not monopoly.

According to Professor Ely's definition, the bootblack who has a single chair on a street corner of New York city, and increases his plant to two chairs and finally to three or four, as is not uncommon, is a "partial monopolist." In truth he is nothing of the kind, he is simply increasing his business, and there is practically nothing monopolistic about it. Monopoly does not begin until competition ends, and so long as there are competitors there is no monopoly.

It is not denied, however, that there can be monopoly. A concern may have exclusive control over an industry, which would constitute a monopoly, but whether that would be an evil or not would depend on how the exclusive control is obtained and maintained. If the monopolistic or exclusive control is obtained by offering goods in the open market on more favorable terms, either by reason of better quality or lower prices than other competitors, and so securing the preference of the buyers, that would not be injurious to the public. The monopoly so obtained would be the reward for superiority, and if the market is kept open, that is to say, if no legal restrictions intervene, that monopoly can continue only so long as it maintains that superiority of service. If it relaxes by deteriorating the quality of the goods or by raising the price, so as in either case to make abnormal profits, it invites new competitive capital into the field.

On the other hand, if the monopoly is secured by a special privilege, like a franchise or patent, which gives exclusive right, then the monopoly may be injurious, because under those circumstances either the price of the goods may be raised or the quality deteriorated without exposing the concern to the collective force of competition. This kind of monopoly is one that is created by society, and it is clearly the duty of society to see that monopolies of its own creation should not be injurious.

Among the causes of monopoly Professor Ely cites the tariff, in support of which he again appeals to Mr. Havemeyer, who absurdly declared that "the tariff is the mother of trusts." Whatever the merits or demerits of the tariff may be, it does not give special privileges to one concern as against another in the same industry. Whatever protection it affords to one concern it affords to all concerns of the same character. Now, whatever

applies to all cannot give special advantages to any. If Professor Ely should contend that the protective tariff enables the protected industries to charge higher prices or even furnish poorer goods, he might at least have seemingly plausible ground for discussion, but to say that a tariff which affords equal protection to all the competing concerns in a given industry furnishes a monopoly to any one is to be placed beyond the pale of scientific controversy.

The fact is that the influence of the tariff is the reverse of monopolistic. To the extent that it influences prices at all, it enables a large number of the smaller and poorer concerns to keep in existence, which is to increase the number of competitors and never diminish them. Would Dr. Ely contend that Carnegie's great power (not monopoly) in his field is maintained by the tariff? Whatever the tariff may have done for iron and steel producers, it has done the same for all of Carnegie's competitors that it has done for him. The possibility of the industry in this country is or was due to the tariff, but his exceptional power is not. On the contrary it is more than probable that if the tariff were removed from iron and steel products, foreign competition would not dislodge Carnegie but it would drive nearly all his small competitors out of business, and thus instead of destroying the so-called monopolistic power of Carnegie it would increase it by the very fact of killing all his numerous smaller competitors whom the tariff keeps in existence.

Among the remedies for monopoly suggested by Dr. Ely is public ownership of certain classes of industry, which is a mild dose of socialism; another remedy is the "regulation of bequests and inheritancies by taxation and otherwise." This in brief means that large fortunes shall be confiscated by the government on some regulated scale, so that fortunes above a

certain amount shall not be transmitted. It is only necessary to carry this principle of confiscation far enough to guarantee that wealth shall not be transmitted at all, and that every individual shall begin at the bottom; a condition that is completely secured by barbarism. Of course, from the misconception of the relation of the tariff to monopoly, he recommends the removal of the tariff as a remedy. His last remedy is by far the best of all his recommendations, namely, that in order to prevent one state from preying upon another by great differences in taxation, fees, etc., regarding corporation charters, the federal government be empowered to issue charters to private corporations, and so give the rights under the charter, whatever they may be, for the entire United States. This reform was suggested last winter by Mr. John D. Archbold, of the Standard Oil Company, in his testimony before the industrial commission, and it seems to be a reform well worth trying.

Professor Ely's book is very readable, as his books usually are, but it can hardly be called a thoroughly scientific treatment of the subject. It contains a great variety of quoted opinions but it is strongly flavored with the doctrine of public ownership. However, it is altogether superior to most of the publications on this subject. The spirit of the book is decidedly fair, and most of the suggested remedies are conservative.

The book suffers very much for want of an index, especially as it has only the most meagre kind of a skeleton table of contents. At this time of numerous books and rapid reading, no excuse should be accepted for publishing a scientific book without an index.

AMERICAN PUBLIC SCHOOLS. By John Swett. Cloth, 12mo, 320 pp., \$1.00. American Book Company, New York, Cincinnati and Chicago.

The object of this book is to bring within easy reach of the thousands of our American teachers, who have not the time or means to cover the wide range of reading on the subject, some important information on American educational history, also many valuable suggestions on present school work.

Unlike many condensed works this book is interesting as well as statistical. Mr. Swett introduces just enough of the history of the country to give color and interest to the educational facts he wishes to emphasize, and to show the influences and conditions which have been prominent in building up a system of education in this country.

The book opens with an account of the colonial schools, followed by a description of the struggles of the early American schools in different states and cities, and the establishment of schools in the South and West after the civil war. The history of the development of high schools, colleges, universities, kindergartens and primary schools is traced, also an account of the courses of study pursued, methods of teaching, and forms of discipline employed, past and present. It is in this last particular that Mr. Swett's book will be particularly interesting and helpful to teachers. A knowledge of the advance that has been made toward broad lines of instruction and humane treatment since the time when the common school curriculum included only the three R's and discipline, is full of encouragement. Still further it shows where more reforms can be made, by pointing out to what extent our schools are still hampered by past customs.

In speaking of the future Mr. Swett takes a most optimistic view. The growing demand for trained teachers, the tendency to make the course of study meet the needs of the common pursuits of life, the improved facilities for fitting students for college and the

rapid growth of schools all over the country, are some of the things he cites as making an educational outlook full of promise. There is, however, it seems to us, too much emphasis put on so-called "practical" education, which would almost convert our whole system into trade-schools and business colleges. The real object of education is character building; the practical usefulness of the subjects studied is important but not *primarily* important.

Part II. treats of applied pedagogics in the common schools. In the discussion of school management and methods of teaching Mr. Swett brings out emphatically the idea that to develop the individual and educate the faculties is the main object of education. The importance of securing teachers who consider the psychological influence of the lesson more than the literal fact is strongly urged. This is the modern thought in education, although Prof. Hugo Münsterberg is strongly protesting against the idea that psychological and pedagogical education is a necessary part of the training of the practical teacher; belonging rather, he holds, to the superintendents, boards of education, etc. It centers the attention of the teacher on formal application of technical principles, according to Prof. Münsterberg, and lessens the instinctive, sympathetic adaptation to conditions which is the secret of truly effective teaching. There is considerable force in this point, which Mr. Swett would undoubtedly recognize in a fuller discussion of the subject.

THE STATE. Elements of Historical and Practical Politics. By Woodrow Wilson, Ph.D., LL. D. D. C. Heath & Company, Boston. Cloth, 656 pages, \$2.00.

Professor Wilson's book was originally published in 1889. The present edition is entirely rewritten and brought down to date. There are many respects in

which this is one of the best text-books published on political history and institutions. It is admirably prepared for school and college work. It covers the range of political history, giving a multitude of features without being in the least tedious. No distinctive feature of political institutions which have appeared in the evolution of modern government from the earliest times is omitted. At the end of every chapter is given a list of representative authors, so that the student is not only given a concise account of the subject but is introduced to the sources for further pursuing any question that is brought up in the text.

An admirable feature of the book is the elaborate topical analysis, which occupies thirty-three pages, and to this is added an excellent index. The book presents a comparative though not controversial description of the principles of legislative machinery and administration under the chief modern governments of the world. It is at once brief and comprehensive. As a text-book of political history and governmental institutions it has perhaps no superior.

NEW BOOKS OF INTEREST

CIVICS

The Christian and Civic Economy of Large Towns. By Thomas Chalmers. Abridged and edited by Prof. Charles R. Henderson, of the University of Chicago. 12mo, \$1.25. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. It is asserted that the social settlement idea was practically originated by Chalmers in his parish work at Glasgow early in the nineteenth century; the present volume is a new edition of his statement of sociological principles.

A Municipal Program: Report of the Committee of the National Municipal League, adopted by the League

November 17th, 1899, together with explanatory and other papers. 246 pp. \$1.00. The Macmillan Company, New York and London. A committee was appointed in May, 1897, at the Louisville meeting of the National Municipal League, to bring together the facts that had been collected and investigated by the league, and develop a plan of municipal reform action based upon this body of data. The official report of the committee was made and adopted in November, 1899, and is now published in book form. Besides the main body of the report, the historical introduction traces the municipal problem in this country, and the book closes with an examination of the committee's plans, prepared by a specialist in municipal government.

Municipal Government. By Bird S. Coler, Controller of the city of New York. Cloth, 12mo, \$1.00. 1900. D. Appleton & Co., New York. Discusses the problem of city government "as illustrated by the charters, finances and public charities of New York."

HISTORICAL AND DESCRIPTIVE

South Africa of To-day. By Captain Francis Younghusband, Indian Staff Corps, author of "The Heart of a Continent," "The Relief of Chitral," etc. Cloth, 8vo, \$3.50. Illustrated. The Macmillan Company, New York and London. The author was an eyewitness of the Jameson raid, which is fully described.

Side Lights on American History. By Henry W. Elson. Cloth, 398 pp. 75 cents. 1900. The Macmillan Co., New York. This is the second volume in a series on American historical "side lights," and covers the period since the beginning of the civil war, down to and including the Spanish war. Very useful to students of our political history.

FROM MAY MAGAZINES

“It is interesting to note in comparison that for 1898 the United States Interstate Commerce Commission reports that there were carried on all the steam railways in the United States, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from the St Lawrence to the Rio Grande, passengers to the number of 501,066,681, or five per cent. less than the number carried by the New York City surface and elevated railways alone.”—WILLIAM BARCLAY PARSONS, in “Rapid Transit in New York;” *Scribners*.

“When two or three men live within hail of one another political relations begin. Politics begin when men realize that other men are forces to be considered. Men meet, bow ; each drives his wagon to the right ; one sells, another buys ; they fence their acres in. They meet together to chop down a tree, to mend the road, to regulate county matters with the next community. Whether they like it or not, politics have begun, ethical relations have begun, religion has come in.—HENRY D. SEDGWICK, JR., in “Nations and the Decalogue;” *The Atlantic Monthly*.

“Lowell's was a generous, widely sympathizing nature, from which radiated love for humanity, and the broadest and most catholic helpfulness for every one who asked for his help, with a special fund for his friends; Holmes drew a line around him, within which he shone like a winter sun, and outside of which his care did not extend. The one was best in what he did, the other in what he was. Holmes always seemed to me cynical to the general world ; Lowell to have embodied the antique sentiment, ‘I am a man, and hold nothing human as indifferent to me.’”—W. J. STILLMAN, in his “Autobiography;” *The Atlantic Monthly*.

"A neutralized canal is not only the historic policy of the United States, but it is the policy as well of Nicaragua and Costa Rica and of the nations of Europe. In 1887 Nicaragua granted the Menocal concession under which the Maritime Canal Company, incorporated by Act of Congress in 1889, carried on its operations. That concession provided for the neutrality of the canal and for the equal right of all nations to use it on payment of the tolls. In 1898 Nicaragua granted what is known as the Eyre-Cragin concession. Under this concession the canal is to be neutral; in case of war traffic is not to be interrupted; and the port at either end is to be free."—HENRY WADE ROGERS, in "The Hay-Pauncefote Treaty;" *The Forum*.

"There was a time in the summer of 1864 when it looked as if the Democrats would win and elect McClellan. At that time it was infinitely more essential to the salvation of the Union that Lincoln should be continued in power than it was to the salvation of the Commonwealth in 1654 that Cromwell should be continued in power. Lincoln would have been far more excusable than Cromwell if he had insisted upon keeping control. Yet such a thought never entered Lincoln's head. He prepared to abide in good faith the decision of the people, and one of the most touching incidents of his life is the quiet and noble sincerity with which he made preparations, if McClellan were elected, to advise with him and help him in every way, and to use his own power during the interval between McClellan's election and inauguration in such a manner as would redound most to the advantage of the latter, and would increase, as far as possible, the chance for the preservation of the Union."—THEODORE ROOSEVELT, in "Oliver Cromwell;" *Scribner's*.

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Gunton's magazine

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